

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

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philosophy lay in the rigid consistency with which he worked out his crude Materialism. His merits in this respect are best seen by comparison with the Ionian hylozoists who preceded, and the Stoic pantheists who followed, him. So long as material reality is endowed with sentence or reason, the problem of Materialism is not adequately conceived, nor are its difficulties properly faced. The Atomists saw clearly what they had to do, namely, to show how out of matter, which is neither sentient nor intelligent, but merely obeys mechanical laws, it is possible to derive organic bodies which both feel and think. The difficulty of the task was not removed by this clear conception of its nature. There is a gap in the deduction, which no ingenuity can bridge over. The formation of an image on the pupil and the visual sensation contemporaneous with it remain wholly distinct: the physics of Democritus may explain the first, but not the second. Ever so correct a theory of the mechanism of local movements in the animal still leaves the phenomena of purpose and volition as mysterious as ever, as Aristotle pointed out. The resolution of secondary qualities, as they are called—colour, sound, temperature, odour, etc.—into effects of atomic movements on the percipient was a great step in advance; but Democritus did not realize all its consequences. Modern psychology has shown that the same analysis can be applied to primary

qualities, and the seeming solid bodies of the Atomists' external world replaced by groups of tactile sensations; while, further, it asserts that these states of consciousness are our primary data of immediate reality. Thus Materialism, if worked out consistently, is apt to lead out of itself to Phenomenalism or Subjective Idealism, or in some other direction.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Introductory; African and Oceanian).—Although a rough distinction may be drawn between demons and spirits by considering the former as malevolent and the latter as benevolent, actual study of the subject soon shows that there is, to the primitive mind, no clear line of demarcation between the two allied classes. Their modes of operation are identical, and the same being may often be either beneficent or maleficent, as circumstances may dictate, though some are normally kindly disposed towards man, while others are almost or quite invariably hostile to him. The very terms 'spirit' and 'demon' are colourless. The former word signifies simply 'breathing,' 'breath' (see artt. BREATH, SPIRIT), while the latter (*δαίμων*) originally denoted either 'apportioner' or, less probably, 'apportionment,' 'destiny,' being connected with *Gr. δαίωαι*, 'divide,' 'apportion,' and Eng. *time* (Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg, 1907 ff., p. 162; cf. also ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 54^a). The term 'demon' has, moreover, suffered a complete transformation of meaning in *malam partem*, for originally, as will be clear from the 'Greek' section of this art., it had a good connotation, which was changed into an evil one when Christianity condemned the deities and spirits of paganism (see, further, 'Christian' section below)—a change quite analogous to that by which the Avesta *daēva*, 'demon,' is the precise etymological equivalent of the Skr. *deva*, 'god.'

Again, both demons and spirits—to retain for the nonce their somewhat artificial contrast—must be carefully distinguished from souls or ghosts (cf. artt.

SOUL, ANCESTOR-WORSHIP, and the 'Egyptian' section below). This comes out very clearly among the Melanesians,¹ with whom

'it is most important to distinguish between spirits who are beings of an order higher than mankind, and the disembodied spirits of men, which have become in the vulgar sense of the word ghosts. . . . They [the Melanesians] themselves make a clear distinction between the existing, conscious, powerful, disembodied spirits of the dead, and other spiritual beings that have never been men at all' (Codrington, *Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 120 f.).

The *vui*, or spirit, thus contrasted with the *tindalo*, or ghost, was defined as follows to Codrington by a native of the Banks Islands:

'It lives, thinks, has more intelligence than a man; knows things which are secret without seeing; is supernaturally powerful with *mana*; has no form to be seen; has no soul, because itself is like a soul'; and in Omba, Lepers Island, the definition of *vui* is as follows:

'Spirits are immortal; have bodies, but invisible; are like men, but do not eat and drink, and can be seen only by the dead' (Codrington, 123, 170).

That, despite this assignment of a purely spiritual nature to the *vui*, they should often be regarded practically as in human form, and even as sometimes dimly visible (*ib.* 151 f.), is by no means surprising when we remember that it is well-nigh impossible for man at any stage of civilization to escape entirely from anthropomorphism (*q.v.*).

This distinction between spirits and ghosts is, however, much easier to make in theory than in practice, and Taylor's words regarding the New Zealanders (*Te Ika a Maui*², London, 1870, p. 108)

¹ A very similar distinction may be found in Greek between *θεοί*, *δαίμονες*, and *ψυχές*, the two latter classes corresponding respectively to the Melanesian *vui* and *tindalo* (cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 248 f.).

— 'Maori gods are so mixed up with the spirits of ancestors, whose worship entered largely into their religion, that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other'—may be applied to more than one people (cf. also, for Africa, Schneider, *Relig. der afrikan. Naturvölker*, Münster, 1891, p. 113).

But, if demons and spirits must be distinguished from ghosts or souls, an equally clear line must be drawn between them and gods—although it is true that confusion of demons and spirits with gods is frequent, exactly as demons and spirits are often confounded with souls or ghosts. There is, nevertheless, this difference between the two kinds of confusion, that, whereas demons and spirits are, strictly speaking, distinct from souls and ghosts in that the *vui* 'were never men, and have not the bodily nature of a man' (Codrington, 124), the difference between demons and spirits as contrasted with gods appears to be one of degree rather than of kind, so that demons and spirits may be, and very often are, elevated to the rank of gods. On this point Jevons writes as follows (*Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*³, London, 1904, pp. 173, 175):

'For the savage, supernatural beings are divided into three classes—the gods of his own tribe, those of other tribes, and spirits which, unlike the first two classes, have never obtained a definite circle of worshippers to offer sacrifice to them and in return receive protection from them. This last class, never having been taken into alliance by any clan, have never been elevated into gods. . . . On the one hand, the community originally drew its god from the ranks of the innumerable spiritual beings by which primitive man was surrounded; and, on the other hand, the outlying, unattached spirits, who were not at first taken into alliance, and so raised to the status of gods, may ultimately be domesticated, so to speak, and made regular members of a pantheon.'

The relations of demons and spirits to that phase of primitive religion properly known as Animism (*q.v.*) are peculiarly close, so that Tylor (i.³ 426) declares:

'It is habitually found that the theory of Animism divides into two great dogmas, forming parts of one consistent doctrine; first, concerning souls of individual creatures, capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body; second, concerning other spirits, upward to the rank of powerful deities.'

Whether, however, Animism actually furnishes, as was once fondly supposed, a complete explanation of the origin of religion, or whether it was even the earliest form of religion, seems open to grave doubts (cf. the views of various scholars recorded by Schmidt, 'L'Origine de l'idée de Dieu,' in *Anthropos*, iii. [1908]); and the theory is scarcely supported in Melanesia, where so accurate an observer as Codrington can say (p. 123):

'There does not appear to be anywhere in Melanesia a belief in a spirit which animates any natural object, a tree, waterfall, storm, or rock, so as to be to it what the soul is believed to be to the body of a man. Europeans, it is true, speak of the spirits of the sea or of the storm or of the forest; but the native idea which they represent is that ghosts haunt the sea and the forest, having power to raise storms and to strike a traveller with disease, or that supernatural beings, never men, do the same.'

It must also be borne in mind that, while spirits are very frequently believed to inhabit trees, rivers, rocks, and the like, there are many spirits to which no such specific habitat is assigned. In other cases the abode, even in a tree, river, or rock, may be but temporary—a phenomenon which is especially characteristic of dream-demons, disease-demons, and the like.

There is, furthermore, a close connexion of demons and spirits with the great type of religion known as Fetishism (*q.v.*), which may roughly be defined, with Tylor (ii. 144), as 'the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects,' the fetish itself being a material, or even animal (cock, serpent, bear, etc.), or natural (river, tree, etc.), object in which a spirit is believed to take up its abode, either temporarily or permanently. To quote Tylor (ii. 145) again:

'To class an object as a fetish, demands explicit statement that a spirit is considered as embodied in it or acting through it or communicating by it, or at least that the people it belongs to do habitually think this of such objects; or it must be shown that the object is treated as having personal consciousness and power, is talked with, worshipped, prayed to, sacrificed to, petted or ill-treated with reference to its past or future behaviour to its votaries.' Cf., however, the well-founded objection of Jevons, pp. 166-169, to the scientific use of the word 'fetish' at all, since it 'may mean one thing to one person and another to another, because it has no generally accepted scientific definition.'

Nevertheless, however vague the term 'fetish' may be, it is at least clear that the idea of spirit-habitation which it conveys is closely connected, in its development, with the forms of religion associated with amulets (see CHARMS AND AMULETS, vol. iii. p. 398³) and idols (see IMAGES AND IDOLS).

Generally speaking, a spirit is regarded, unless properly propitiated, as malevolent and maleficent more often than as benevolent and beneficent; in other words, to revert to the common, though lax, phraseology, demons are more numerous than spirits. At first sight this state of belief is analogous to that which gives more prominence to malignant than to benignant deities, because the benevolent gods are already good and need no propitiation, while every effort must be made to appease and to propitiate the malevolent ones. Such, however, does not seem to be the real psychology in the case of demons and spirits. The true ground for the predominance in number and in importance of malevolent over benevolent spirits appears to be well outlined by Jevons (p. 177), who finds the explanation in the fact, already noted, that the spirit is unattached to any clan or community, whereas a god is connected with one or another clan. The spirit is, therefore, much in the position of an unattached ghost; and, as to the primitive mind, with its intense concept of kinship—whether real or artificial—all that is not akin is hostile, a spirit thus unattached, and consequently unakin, would naturally tend to be regarded as hostile and malevolent. It must be remembered, too, that the qualities ascribed to the spirits reflect in great measure the qualities of their worshippers (cf. Schneider, 106); for instance, the Kioko of Portuguese West Africa hold that each spirit has his own district, which he jealously guards, being deeply angered by the intrusion of any neighbouring spirit (*ib.* 150). Spirits also possess other traits still more human, so that, among the African Bambara, the spirits 'have sex, males and females are found among them, they have children, and some, if not all, even believe them to be clothed' (Henry, in *Anthropos*, iii. 702); while in Loango we find a specific 'mother of spirits' named Bunsu, who has peopled the whole land with spirits, who in their turn have begotten others (Schneider, 132f.); and the Australian Urabunna and Warramunga believe that the black-snake totem ancestor begot spirit children who now live in water-holes and in gum-trees along the bank of the creek (Spencer-Gillen^b, p. 162, cf. also p. 301).

It is comparatively seldom that the primitive mind makes a clear discrimination between good and evil spirits so far as to distinguish them by special epithets, as do the Africans of Benguela (Schneider, 135); and the very fact that the names applied by the Malays of Passumah Lebar to good spirits (*dewa*) and to evil spirits (*jinn*) are of Skr. and Arab. origin respectively (Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1860-72, v. i. 166) betrays the late date of this nomenclature (cf. also Tylor, ii. 319).

In the regions under consideration, belief in demons and spirits is especially characteristic of Africa (as is shown at once by the fact that 'fetishism' is *par excellence* the type of African

religion'), where it maintains itself side by side with ghost-worship. In Oceania, on the other hand, the two types of religion are mutually exclusive. In Polynesia, Australia, and Micronesia, spirits are practically unworshipped as compared with ghosts, while in the Ellice Islands and the Union Group (Tokelau) the reverse is the case (Waitz-Gerland, v. ii. 139-142, 194-199); and in Melanesia

'religion divides the people into two groups; one, where, with an accompanying belief in spirits, never men, worship is directed to the ghosts of the dead, as in the Solomon Islands; the other, where both ghosts and spirits have an important place, but the spirits have more worship than the ghosts, as is the case in the New Hebrides and in the Banks Islands' (Codrington, 123).

Naturally, the same effect may be ascribed by primitive man to different causes. Thus, among the Orang Kubu of Sumatra and the Mintira of the Malay Peninsula, disease is caused by spirits (Waitz-Gerland, v. i. 181; *Journ. Ind. Archipel.* i. 307), whereas in Africa generally and in Melanesia (Schneider, 116, 125, 152; Codrington, 194) disease is more commonly due to malignant ghosts—although here, too, the vague distinction between ghosts and spirits, already noted, often renders uncertain any precise determination of the cause of disease (cf. Tylor, ii. 125 ff., where further examples will be found; and see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE). The same statement holds true of possession (or obsession) by spirits and ghosts. Sometimes, as normally in Melanesia, it is the shades of the departed, rather than the *vui*, that cause the phenomena comprised under the category of possession (Codrington, 218-220); while, along the shores of Blanche Bay, New Britain, all this is caused by the *inal*, a being which is evidently a spirit, not a ghost (Meier, 'Der Glaube an den *inal* und den *tutana vurakit*,' in *Anthropos*, v. [1910] 95 ff.; see, further, both for ghost- and for spirit-possession, Tylor, i. 98, ii. 123 ff.); and in the vast domain of magic (*q.v.*) it will be found that both ghosts and spirits are among the powers controlled by magicians.

As regards the places of abode of demons and spirits, the words of Brun (in *Anthropos*, ii. [1907] 728) with reference to the African Malinke, a Mandingo stock, may serve as applicable to almost any people among whom this type of religion prevails:

'Dans la pensée des Malinkés, notre planète est peuplée d'une multitude d'esprits. Les uns résident dans des lieux déterminés, fleuves, rivières, montagnes, blocs de rochers; d'autres dans certains arbres. Le grand vent et le tonnerre sont produits par les esprits. Dans presque tous les villages, il y a un grand arbre dans lequel réside l'esprit protecteur du village.' Among the Polynesians, in like manner, Ellis (*Polyn. Researches*, London, 1832, i. 327-330) records deities (whn may, however, originally have been ghosts) of the sea, air, valleys, mountains, precipices, and ravines.

It is, indeed, this very type of Nature-spirit which has in great part given rise to the theory of Animism (cf. Tylor, ii. 205 ff., and, for Polynesia especially, Waitz-Gerland, vi. 295-298). To give a complete list of such spirits would be to catalogue almost every object both in inanimate and in animate Nature—a task that would be not merely enormous, but, for the present purpose, useless, since the underlying principles are everywhere the same, and the varying details do not materially affect the cardinal doctrine involved. It will be quite sufficient, therefore, to note a few of the more prominent classes of Nature-spirits in Africa and Oceania by way of examples of the whole type.

(a) *Animals*.—Along the Slave Coast, Danhgbi, the python spirit, receives divine homage, as do crocodiles and, in Togo, leopards (the latter may, however, be the abodes of ghosts rather than of

¹ It must, however, be noted that Nassau regards all the spirits worshipped in W. Africa as originally ghosts ('Spiritual Beings in West Africa,' in *Journ. Amer. Geograph. Soc.* xxxiii. [1901] 389-400, xxxv. [1903] 115-124).

spirits; see ANIMALS, vol. i. pp. 509 f., 520 f.), and among the Mandingo reverence is paid to serpents as divine (cf. *ib.* vol. i. p. 525 f., and art. SERPENT-WORSHIP). Yet here, too, as just noted, the difficulty of accurate distinction between spirits and ghosts confronts us, and the animal is more usually the home of the latter than of the former (cf. Tylor, ii. 7 f., 229, 378 f.; see also above, vol. i. p. 493 f.): and we must also remember that animals are often held to be god-homes, and that there are still other factors which go to make up the complex system of animal-worship (see artt. ANIMALS, TOTEMISM).

(b) *Water-spirits*.—Attention has been called in art. BRIDGE to the wide-spread belief in deities and spirits believed to be resident in rivers, and the same thing is, of course, true of larger bodies of water, such as lakes, as in the Banks Islands (Codrington, 186). To this category belongs the African Fugamu, at once the deity of the Rembo Ngoyai (a tributary of the Ogove) and the teacher of the smith's art, while dreaded demons dwell in the falls of the Congo, and the Kafirs fear the water-demons Ikanti and Uhili (Schneider, 131, 133, 137, 151 f.; Kidd, *Essential Kafir*, London, 1904, p. 10, inclines to regard the Kafir demons as ghosts rather than as spirits); thus, as Tylor sums up the matter for Africa (ii. 211; cf. also i. 108-110, ii. 209 ff.),

'in the East, among the Wanika, every spring has its spirit, to which oblations are made; in the West, in the Akra district, lakes, ponds, and rivers received worship as local deities. In the South, among the Kafirs, streams are venerated as personal beings, or the abodes of personal deities, as when a man crossing a river will ask leave of its spirit, or having crossed will throw in a stone; or when the dwellers by a stream will sacrifice a beast to it in time of drought, or, warned by illness in the tribe that their river is angry, will cast into it a few handfuls of millet or the entrails of a slaughtered ox.'

(c) *Forests and trees*.—Forests and trees likewise are the abodes of spirits. The New Britain belief in the *inal*, which, in the form of an owl, has its usual home in a tree, has already been noted, and a similar belief prevails in Melanesia (Codrington, 186 f.). For a like reason the Wanika reverence the coco-nut palm (Schneider, 159), while the Bambara also are among the many African peoples that believe trees to be tenanted by spirits (Henry, in *Anthropos*, iii. 703; for further examples, where ghosts, totems, etc., are also factors, see Jevons, ch. xvi.; Tylor, i. 475, ii. 215 ff.; and art. TREES).

(d) *Mountains*.—The African Malinke believe that the mountain at Kita is the home of malevolent spirits (Brun, *loc. cit.*), and throughout Oceania there was an abundance of mountain- and rock-spirits, some of which must, however, be reckoned as ghosts (see Waitz-Gerland, vi. 295-297, where may be found a general survey of Nature-spirits in the Pacific islands). The extent to which mountain-spirits may be specialized is well illustrated in the list of the dread deities of the volcano Kilauea, in Hawaii, thus recorded by Ellis (iv. 248 f.):

Kamoho-arili ('king Moho,' or 'king vapour'), Ta-poha-i-tahiora ('explosion in the place of life'), Te-an-a-te-po ('rain of night'), Tane-hetiri ('husband of thunder'), Te-o-ahi-tama-tana ('fire-thrusting child of war')—all these being brothers; Makore-wawahi-waa ('fiery-eyed canoe-breaker'), Hiata-wawahi-lani ('thunder-rending cloud-holder'), Hiata-noho-lani ('heaven-dwelling cloud-holder'), Hiata-taarava-mata ('quick-glancing-eyed cloud-holder'), Hiata-hni-te-pori-a-Pele ('cloud-holder embracing [or, kissing] the bosom of Pele'), Hiata-ta-hu-enaena ('red-hot mountain-holding [or lifting] clouds'), Hiata-tareia ('wreath-encircled cloud-holder'), and Hiata-opio ('young cloud-holder')—all these being sisters of the great goddess Pele.

Prominent among the distinctly good spirits are those whose special function it is to act as guardians. From this class we must, of course, exclude the 'separable soul,' such as the *okra*, or *kra*, of the Tshi and the *luwo* of the Ewe, which is a second soul, created together with the individual whom it is to guard throughout his life (see art. SOUL); and we must also once more essay the far

less easy task of distinguishing guardian spirits from guardian ghosts. To the latter class seem to belong such supernatural guardians as the Zulu *ama-tongo*, the Bantu *mizimi* and *ombwiri* (Schneider, 139 ff., 152; Hartland, art. BANTU, vol. ii. p. 360*), and the Tahitian *oramatua* (Waitz-Gerland, vi. 316); yet there are also cases where the guardian is believed to be a spirit in the strict sense of the term. Such appears to be the case in the Gold and Slave Coasts (Jevons, 165 f.; see also his whole ch. xiv.), and in Samoa and other Polynesian islands the guardian spirit was expressly declared to be a god (*aitu*), not a ghost (*varua*; see the examples collected by Waitz-Gerland, vi. 317 ff.). For further details, see artt. TOTEMISM, TUTELARY GODS.

Another important class of spirits is formed by those of prophecy, their functions being to a large extent shared, as is perfectly obvious, by ghosts. As examples of this kind of beings we may refer to a spirit dwelling in an enormous stone near Kita (Brun, *loc. cit.*), the Matabele Makalaka (Schneider, 144), and the *inal* of Blanche Bay (Meier, in *Anthropos*, v. 96 f.; cf. also Tylor, ii. 131 ff.). These spirits may simply be consulted, as at Kita, or they may enter into an individual, producing a state of ecstasy, as at Blanche Bay (see artt. ORACLE, POSSESSION). Again, it is to the agency of spirits that primitive man attributes a large proportion of his dreams (Tylor, ii. 189-191, 411; see also art. DREAMS), especially those of an erotic or nightmare character, while ordinary dreams of persons, animals, and things would normally be ascribed rather to the action of souls, whether of the living or of the dead. That demons and spirits are important factors in causing disease has already been noted (above, p. 567*).

The presence of demons and spirits is normally revealed solely by intangible manifestations which the primitive mode of thought can explain only through the agency of such supernatural beings, as in the case of disease, dreams, many natural phenomena, and the like; but a demon or spirit is also often regarded as sufficiently tangible to leave footprints in ashes or similar substances strewn where it may be thought likely that he will come; and animals are frequently believed to be able to perceive spirits which the duller vision of men cannot discern (Tylor, ii. 196-198). Beneficent spirits, when present, are, of course, gladly entertained, and are even constrained to remain; but there is, naturally enough, a determined effort to get rid of maleficent demons. All these operations of invitation or of expulsion are part of magic (*q.v.*), and come to the front especially in case of disease (see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE), or, from the more ethical and ritual side, in the ceremonies associated, for example, with the scapegoat in ethnic religions (see AZAZEL and SCAPE ANIMALS).

There is one class of beings that may perhaps be regarded as on the border-line between spirits and ghosts, though inclining rather to the latter category. One or two peoples preserve a tradition that they have conquered their present territory by invasion and subjugation of a former tribe of entirely different nature, and are convinced that this vanquished tribe still survives in spirit form. It is generally held that we have here one of the sources of the folk-belief in fairies, brownies, kobolds, dwarfs, giants, and the like (cf. Tylor, i. 385 ff.; *CF*, pp. 21 f., 429). To this class belong the Maori *patu-paerehe*, who lived chiefly on the tops of lofty hills, while the *taniwha* had their homes in river-holes or under cliffs, etc., where they caused such calamities as land-slips and the like (Tylor, pp. 153-157). Similar beings, explicitly called *vua*, or spirits, are believed to dwell in the New Hebrides and Banks Islands, where 'they have been seen

of late in human form, smaller than the native people, darker, and with long straight hair' (Codrington, 152 f.).

The cult rendered to demons and spirits may be discussed very briefly, for it differs in no matter of principle from that of the gods themselves. As Jevons (p. 175 f.) says,

'The method by which the negro of Western Africa obtains a *shuman* [a tutelary deity of an individual] is an exact copy of the legitimate ritual by which a family obtains a family god. . . . All over the world these private cults are modelled on, derived from, and later than, the established worship of the gods of the community. The difference between the private cult of one of these outlying, unattached spirits and the public worship of the community's gods does not lie in the external acts and rites, for these are the same in both cases, or as nearly the same as the imitator can make them. . . . The difference lies first in the division which this species of private enterprise implies and encourages between the interests of the individual and of the community, at a time when identity of interest is essential to the existence of society, and when the unstable equilibrium of the small community requires the devotion of every member to prevent it from falling.' (For a detailed study of the spirit-cult of a specific African tribe, see Henry, 'Les Cultes des esprits chez les Bambara,' in *Anthropos*, ii. 702-717.)

LITERATURE.—There seems to be no special treatise on this subject, so that the material must be gleaned from the writings of missionaries and travellers in Africa and Oceania (in the older works much care is needful in distinguishing, where such distinction is possible, between spirits and ghosts or gods), from works on the regions under consideration (such as those of Waitz-Gerland and Schneider, quoted in the art.), and from general studies on Comparative Religion. Particular interest still attaches to the chapters (xi.-xvii.) on 'Animism' in Tylor, although the animistic theory is subjected to sharp criticism by many scholars of eminence.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Assyr.-Bab.).—

Among the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians, as among the modern Arabs of Mesopotamia, superstition was rife, and a firm belief in all kinds of demons and *jinn* was current in every class of society. The Semitic element, when it entered Babylon, took over from the Sumerians much of their folk-lore, and it is for this reason that so many of the Assyr. words for ghouls, hobgoblins, and vampires bear their Sumerian origin patently; and out of this amalgamation sprang the elaborately developed system of magic in vogue during the later Assyr. and Bab. empires. This art provides the magician with all possible means for combating hostile devils and spirits.

The unseen enemies of mankind fall naturally into three classes. The simplest form—that of the disembodied spirit or ghost—is probably universal. The second—always supernatural—differs from gods by reason of its low order, and, as Robertson Smith says of the *jinn*,¹ is mentioned by the name of its class and not by a personal name, save in such cases as Namtar and the like, who are properly gods. Lastly, there is the half-human, half-supernatural creature, born of human and ghostly parentage—some awful monstrosity sprung from a *succuba* or *incubus*. These, too, are known by a class-name and have no individual title, whereas the higher order of this element in religion, the demi-god, is always a personality.

1. Ghosts.—We may examine, then, first in order the disembodied spirit, the ghost of a man or woman, which for some reason or other returns to this world. The Assyr. word in use is *edimnu*.² This *edimnu* was supposed to come back to earth for many reasons; it became hungry and restless, if its descendants ceased to pay it due rites or offer sacrifices on which it might feed; or it obtained no resting-place in the world of shades underground, if its earthly body remained unburied. The Assyr. ideas of Sheol were probably much the same as those of the ancient Hebrews. When a man died, his body was duly buried in the earth, and the spirit then inhabited the under world, 'the House of Darkness, the seat of the

¹ *Rel. of Sem.*, 1894, p. 126.

² See Ilunger, *Becherwahrnehmung bei den Babyloniern*. Leipzig, 1903.

god Irkalla . . . the house from which none who enter come forth again.¹ Here its food was dust and mud, doubtless eked out by the libations and offerings which percolated through the earth from the mourners' sacrifices. The blood of animals slaughtered at the grave-side trickled through to reach the hungry spirit in the under world, and hence the belief in such sacrifices. But, if the attentions of descendants towards an ancestor should cease on earth, and the spirit thus was deprived of its food, it was then driven by stress of hunger to come back to earth to demand its due. How it succeeded in breaking loose from that bourn whence no traveller returns is difficult to understand, unless we suppose that there was a dual conception of ideas arising from a confusion between the grave as the actual habitation of the dead man, and Sheol as the place of shades; probably the primitive beliefs of savages in regard to ghosts were never very definite in details, and ideas of such incorporate and invisible beings must necessarily have been indeterminate. For example, Ishtar, when she descends to the under world, threatens to break down the door of Hades:

'I will smite the door, I will shatter the bolt,
I will smite the threshold and tear down the doors,
I will raise up the dead, that they may devour the living,
And the dead shall outnumber those that live.'²

Yet in another Assyr. tablet the return of spirits from the grave is thus described:

'The gods which seize (upon man) have come forth from the grave,
The evil vapours have come forth from the grave,
To demand the payment of rites and the pouring of libations
They have come forth from the grave.'³

The word 'vapours' or 'winds' here requires some explanation. The reference is probably to the transparency of the spirits: when the spirit of Ea-bani is raised from Hades at the instance of his friend, the Bab. hero Gilgamesh, his shade rises 'like the wind' through an opening in the earth made by the god Nergal.⁴

Similarly, another incantation, although it confuses ghosts with demons, refers to the return of hostile spirits:

'The evil spirit, the evil demon, the evil ghost, the evil devil, from the earth have come forth; from the pure abode unto the earth they have come forth; in heaven they are unknown, on earth they are not understood.'⁵

In the instance of the *utukku*-wraith of Ea-bani being raised, like Samuel at En-dor, the text continues with a speech of the ghost, describing the under world to Gilgamesh:

'The man whose corpse lieth in the desert (thou and I have often seen such an one), his spirit resteth not in the earth; the man whose spirit hath none to care for it (thou and I have often seen such an one), the dregs of the vessel, the leavings of the feast, and that which is cast out into the street are his food.'

The name of the necromancer in Assyrian—*mušēlū edimnu*, 'raiser of the ghost'—is pertinent here, to show that the belief in such wizardry was accepted.⁶

Besides the unfed ghost, however, there was also the spirit of the unburied body to haunt mankind. According to Assyr. ideas, which tally in great measure with those of modern savages, if the bones of the dead were removed from the tomb, the spirit at once became restless, and was compelled to roam about the world. Ashurbanipal, giving full credence to this belief, in his invasion of Elam carries away the bones of the kings of Elam from the tombs, and causes the rites paid to them to cease, that their spirits may have no rest.⁷ Furthermore, unless the body was buried, the spirit of the dead man never reached its resting-

place in the under world; and there are long catalogues of all possible classes of ghosts to be exorcized, identified by the reason of their return to earth:

'Whether thou art a ghost that hath come from the earth . . . or one that lieth dead in the desert, or one that lieth dead in the desert uncovered with earth . . . or a ghost unburied, or a ghost that none careth for, or a ghost with none to make offerings (to it), or a ghost with none to pour libations (to it), or a ghost that hath no posterity' (or, 'that hath no name').¹ Or, if through some accident the man had died an untimely death and had not been given due burial, the same thing would happen:

'He that lieth in a ditch . . . he that no grave covereth . . . he that lieth uncovered, whose head is uncovered with dust, the king's son that lieth in the desert or in the ruins (or waste places), the hero whom they have slain with the sword.'² Those who died prematurely became ghosts also, those who perished of hunger or thirst in prison, or had not 'smelt the smell of food,' dying of want, or had fallen into a river and been drowned, or had been overcome by storm in the plains,³ those who died as virgins or bachelors of marriageable age,⁴ and women who died in travail, or while their babes were yet at the breast.⁵

This last ghost, the wraith of the woman dying in childbirth, is universal. Doughty relates that the Arab women explained the hoot of an owl as the cry of a woman seeking her lost child, she having been turned into this bird.⁶ Among the Malays a woman who dies thus becomes a *langsuyar*, or flying demon, which the rest of the tribe prevent from wandering by putting glass beads in the mouth of the corpse, a hen's egg under the arm-pits, and needles in the palms of the hands.⁷ The original *langsuyar* was supposed to be a kind of night-owl like the Lilit of Rabbinic tradition, and is therefore similar to the ghost of which Doughty speaks.⁸

Now, if any one of these disembodied spirits returned to earth, it was likely to attack any mortal who had been in some way connected with it on earth. To have shared food, water, unguents, or clothes with any one in this world rendered a patron or friend liable to a visitation from the ghost of his dead beneficiary, demanding similar attentions after death; nay, even to have eaten, drunk, anointed oneself, or dressed in company with another was reason enough for such a ghostly obsession. The living man exorcizes, through his priest, all these forms of ghost in the Assyr. incantations, threatening them that no rites shall be paid them until they depart:

'(Whatever spirit thou may be), until thou art removed,
Until thou departest from the man, the son of his god,
Thou shalt have no food to eat,
Thou shalt have no water to drink.'⁹

Many of the medical tablets give elaborate prescriptions of drugs and ceremonies to be employed 'when a ghost seizes on a man.' Others give the ritual for laying a ghost which has appeared; and in this case the magician repeats long formulae of all possible ghosts, thereby showing, as is necessary in this magic, that he knows the description of the spirit with which he is dealing:

'A brother's ghost, or a twin, or one unnamed, or with one to pay it rites, or one slain by the sword, or one that hath died by fault of god or sin of king.'¹⁰

The fear of the obsessed man is apparently that the ghost will draw him from this world to the other, for he states in his incantation:

'O ye dead folk, whose cities are heaps of earth, whose . . . are sorrowful, why have you appeared unto me?

I will not come to Kutha [the under world]! Ye are a crowd of ghosts: why do ye cast your enchantments upon me?'¹¹

¹ Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet IV. col. iv. l. 41 ff.

² *WAI* ii. 17, col. iv. l. 6 ff.; Haupt, *Akkad. u. sumer. Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881-82, ii. ii. l. 6 ff.

³ *Ib.* ii. 17, l. 22; Haupt, *op. cit.* ii. ii. l. 22 ff.

⁴ This is a probable rendering of the cuneiform; see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 19.

⁵ Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet IV. col. v. l. 23 ff.; Tablet V. col. i. l. 52 ff.

⁶ *Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 305.

⁷ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 325.

⁸ For other comparative instances, see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 21 ff.

⁹ Thompson, *Devils*, vol. i., Tablet IV. col. v. l. 54 ff.; Tablet V. col. ii. l. 55 ff.

¹⁰ See *PSEA*, Nov. 1906, p. 219 ff. col. i. ll. 6-8.

¹¹ *Ib.* col. i. l. 13.

¹ King, *Bab. Rel.* p. 179.

² *Ib.* p. 180.

³ Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. ii., Tablet 'Y'.

⁴ King, *op. cit.* p. 175.

⁵ Thompson, *Devils*, ii., Tablet 'CC'.

⁶ *WAI* ii. 51, 2, r. ll. 20, 21.

⁷ *Ib.* v. 6, l. 70 ff.; for other and parallel instances, see Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 14 ff.

Even looking upon a corpse rendered a man liable to attacks from the ghost, and such an act demanded a long ritual to free him.¹

Were any further evidence required that the ancient Assyrians firmly believed in the possibility of visible ghosts, we have only to turn to an omen-tablet in the British Museum (K. 8693) which gives a list of the events to be expected if a ghost appears in the house of a man. But enough has been said on the disembodied spirits to show that the Assyrians were convinced of their existence, and had even reduced them to exact classes and species.

2. Unhuman spirits.—The second kind of demons, those entirely unhuman, for whose creation mortals are not directly responsible, existed among the Assyrians, as among other Semites, in innumerable hordes. The first of them is the *utukku*. This word is used, once at least, for the wraith of the dead man returning to earth (in the incident of Ea-bani quoted above from the Gilgamesh Epic), but elsewhere it appears to have a far wider meaning than a simple ghost, and we shall probably not be far wrong in considering it for the most part as the equivalent for a devil. It lurked in the desert, the common home of many Semitic devils, lying in wait for man; or it might have its home in the mountains, sea, or graveyard; and evil would befall him on whom it merely cast its eye.² Another, less well known, is the *gallû*, apparently sexless,³ and this is used as a term of abuse in classical Assyrian, Sennacherib calling the hostile Babylonians by such a name.⁴ The *rabîsu* is a lurking demon, which sets the hair of the body on end.⁵ The *labartu*, *labasu*, and *ahhazu* are a triad frequently found together, the first-named having a whole series of incantations written against her. She was a female demon, the daughter of Anu,⁶ making her home in the mountains or cane-brakes of the marshes; and children were particularly exposed to her attacks. To guard them from her, the tablets inscribed with incantations against her include an amulet to be written on a stone and hung round their necks, and the inscription runs:

"Labartu, [daughter] of Anu," is her first name;
The second, "Sister of the [gods] of the streets";
The third, "Sword that splitteth the head";
The fourth, "Wood-kindler";
The fifth, "Goddess of awful mien";
The sixth, "The trusted and accepted of Irnina,"
The seventh, "By the great gods mayst thou be exorcized;
with the bird of heaven mayst thou fly away."⁷

Of the other two of this triad the *ahhazu* is apparently combated in the medical texts.⁸ Of the *labasu* practically nothing is known.

Two others are mentioned in the cuneiform tablets—the *sêdu* and the *lamassu*, the former being the name for either a guardian deity or an evil spirit. As evil, it is found in an exorcism which begins, "Spirit (*sêdu*) that minisheth heaven and earth, that minisheth the land, spirit that minisheth the land, of giant strength, of giant strength and giant tread."⁹ In this quality of evil the surrounding Semitic nations borrowed the word from Assyria—the Hebrews under the form *shedim*, the Arameans as *shêda*; but it had also its beneficent side, thus approximating to the idea of a guardian angel. With the *lamassu*, which appears always as a kindly spirit, it is appealed to

¹ Zimmern, 'Ritualtafel,' in his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis*, etc. p. 164.

² See Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet III. l. 28, Tablet 'O', l. 179; *WAI* ii. 17, l. 1. 3; and Haupt, *loc. cit.* n. i. l. 3.

³ Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet V. col. iv. l. 17.

⁴ G. Smith, *Hist. of Sennacherib*, 1878, p. 114, l. 6.

⁵ *WAI* v. 50, l. 1. 51; cf. Job 41⁶ 'Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up.'

⁶ Haupt, *loc. cit.* n. i. l. 59.

⁷ Myhrman, *ZA* xvi. [1902] 155; *WAI* iv. 56, l. 1.

⁸ Künchler, *Assyr.-bab. Medizin*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 60, ii. 28, 30, 31, etc.

⁹ Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet V. col. iv. l. 8 ff.

at the end of invocations, both being frequently called upon to be present after the evil spirit has been cast out.¹

In addition to the Assyrian demons specified by separate class-names, there are the 'Seven Spirits,' now well known from the following incantation:

'Seven are they! Seven are they!
In the Ocean Deep, seven are they!
Battering in heaven, seven are they!
Bred in the depths of the Ocean;
Nor male nor female are they,
But are as the roaming wind-blast,
No wife have they, no son can they beget;
Knowing neither mercy nor pity,
They hearken not to prayer or supplication.
They are as horses reared amid the hills,
The Evil Ones of Ea;
Guzala to the gods are they,
They stand in the highway to befoul the path.

Evil are they, evil are they!
Seven are they, seven are they,
Twice seven are they!'²

'From land to land they roam,
Driving the maid from her chamber,
Sending the man forth from his house,
Expelling the son from the house of his father,
Hunting the pigeons from their cotes,
Driving the bird from its nest,
Making the swallow fly forth from its hole,
Smiting both oxen and sheep.
They are the evil spirits that chase the great storms,
Bringing a blight on the land.'³

'They creep like a snake on their bellies,
They make the chamber to stink like mice,
They give tongue like a pack of hounds.'⁴

These seven spirits are undoubtedly the same as those mentioned in Lk 11²⁴, and in a Syriac charm.⁵ They are exorcized under the name of 'seven accursed brothers.' They are described in this charm as saying: 'We go on our hands, so that we may eat flesh, and we crawl along upon our hands, so that we may drink blood.' Their predilection for blood is shown in the Assyrian incantation:

'Knowing no mercy, they rage against mankind,
They spill their blood like rain,
Devouring their flesh (and) sucking their veins.'⁶

To them eclipses were due; just as the modern Semite believes that he must frighten away the evil spirits from the darkening sun or moon,⁷ so did the ancient Assyrian ascribe such a phenomenon to spirit influence. These seven spirits are said to have attacked the moon-god; and Bel, hearing what they had done, sent his servant Nuzku to take counsel with Ea against them:

'O my minister, Nuzku!
Bear my message unto the Ocean Deep,
Tell unto Ea in the Ocean Deep
The tidings of my son Sin, the Moon-god,
Who in heaven hath been grievously bedimmed.'⁸

Ea heard the message which Nuzku brought, and bit his lip in grief; he summoned his son Marduk and conveyed to him the tidings of the moon-god. [After this the tablet becomes mutilated.] When an eclipse did occur, it was held that man might be susceptible to its concomitant evils; many, indeed, are the prayers made to avert the baneful influence:

'In the evil of an eclipse of the moon which in such and such a month on such and such a day has taken place, in the evil of the powers, of the portents, evil and not good, which are in my palace and my land.'⁹

3. Semi-human demons.—The third class of spirit—a goblin of semi-human parentage—must be reckoned the most interesting of the three; and the evidence for belief in such a monster is well-

¹ Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet III. ll. 88 ff., 153, 286; Tablet

'K', ll. 205, 224, etc.

² *Ib.* Tablet V. col. v. l. 28 ff.

³ *Ib.* Tablet IV. col. i. l. 24 ff.

⁴ *Ib.* Tablet 'C', l. 213 ff.

⁵ H. Gollancz, *Selection of Charms*, 1898, p. 87.

⁶ Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet V. col. iv. l. 22 ff.

⁷ Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 289; on noise driving evil

spirits away among other races, see Frazer, *GB* 2, 1900, iii. 60, 91.

⁸ Thompson, *Devils*, i., Tablet XVI. l. 114 ff.

⁹ King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, London, 1896, p. xxv; see also Scheil, *Une Saison de fouilles*, Paris, 1896, p. 96.

attested among the Semites. We must first discuss the triad called *lilā*, *lilitu*, and *ardat lili*. The second is obviously the feminine counterpart of the first, but it is not so easy to discern what is the difference between the two last. These two—the *lilitu* and *ardat lili*—are both female demons, the femininity of the latter being especially emphasized by the word *ardatu*, which always has reference to the woman of marriageable age. The *ardat lili* seems to have assumed the traditional functions of the Heb. Lilith (obviously the same word as *lilitu*), who was Adam's second wife during the period of Eve's separation; and ever since that time the class of *succubæ* known by the same name have been reckoned as the ghostly wives of unmarried men. The Assy. *succuba*, the *ardat lili*, was forced by her desire to roam abroad by night until she found a mate. In a tablet giving a list of demons and spirits we read of the 'ardat lili that hath no husband, the *idlu lili* that hath no wife'¹ (the second being the male equivalent of the first); and in another we find mentioned 'the man whom an *ardat lili* hath looked upon, the man with whom an *ardat lili* hath had union.'²

The Arabs believe in the same possibility. Sayce quotes as an instance that 'about fifteen years ago there was a man in Cairo who was unmarried, but had an invisible *ginn* as wife. One day, however, he saw a woman and loved her, and two days later he died.'³ The present writer met with the same form of belief at Mosul, and, while discussing *jinn* and spirits with some of the Arabs on the mound of Nineveh, was told by one of them that he knew a man who was visited by night by a beautiful woman-spirit, who had already borne him three children.⁴ The Rabbis attest the same belief in their stories of Lilith having borne to Adam devils, spirits, and *lilin*; and they held that men might have children through a *mésalliance* with a demon, and, although these might not be visible, yet they would crowd round their father's death-bed, waiting for his demise to hail him as their parent.⁵

Besides these demons, various diseases were personified in the same way. We find exorcisms against sickness beginning thus:

'Fever unto the man, against his head, hath drawn nigh.

Disease (*namtaru*) unto the man, against his life, hath drawn nigh.

An evil spirit against his neck hath drawn nigh.'⁷

Or another:

'The evil Fever hath come like a deluge, and

Girt with dread brilliance; it filleth the broad earth.'⁸

The Ninth Tablet of the series 'Headache' is similar:

'Headache roameth over the desert, blowing like the wind.'⁹

The Plague-god, *Namtar*, is best known from the story of the Descent of Ishtar into Hades. He is the 'messenger of Allat, the queen of Hades,' and, when Ishtar reaches the under world, he is sent by his mistress to smite the goddess with disease.¹⁰

Another spirit of Pestilence is *Ura*, and with this demon are connected the little amulets of inscribed clay,¹¹ written to avert evil from the house, just as the modern inhabitant of the Near East affixes Arabic charms to his walls¹² (see also CHARMS AND AMULETS [Assyr.-Bab.]).

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¹ Haupt, *loc. cit.* n. ii. l. 30.

² *WAI* v. 50, i. l. 41.

³ *FL* xi. [1900] 388.

⁴ See *PSBA*, Feb. 1906, p. 83.

⁵ Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, Frankfurt, 1700, ii. 413.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. 421, 425.

⁷ Thompson, *Devils*, ii., Tablet XI. l. 1 ff.

⁸ *Ib.* Tablet 'M', l. 1 ff.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 65, l. 1.

¹⁰ King, *Bab. Rel.* p. 181.

¹¹ King, *ZA* xi. 60.

¹² The present writer saw two such at Chokurlu in Asia Minor, written in Arabic against face-ache (see his art. in *PSBA*, Nov. 1910, p. 228).

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Buddhist).—Demon-worship enters largely into the daily life of Eastern peoples. In India, where Buddhism arose, the popular religion, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, in common with that of Easterns generally, has concerned itself less with the prospects of happiness in a future life and the 'higher truths' of the religion than with the troubles in the present life supposed to arise from evil spirits, who everywhere infest the atmosphere and dwellings, and are regarded as the cause of all sickness and misfortune. The higher dogmatic religion and the arrangements for the future life are handed over largely to the priests; but the people themselves take an active and anxious part in counteracting the machinations of the evil spirits, of whom they live in perpetual dread.

Buddhism from its very commencement appears to have accepted the Hindu mythology, with its evil and good spirits, as part of its theory of the universe. Sākyamuni himself seems to have taken over from the Brahmanical teachers of his time, amongst other tenets, the current belief in the gods and demons of the Indian pantheon, and he is represented in the more authentic early texts as referring to these beings as objects of fixed belief. He also accepted the current Brahmanical view that, like all other living things, they were impermanent and ultimately subject to death and endless re-birth, many of them having in previous existences been men. Thus, the gods and demons, being incapable of saving themselves from death and the misery of re-birth, could not be expected to save man; and so Buddha declared that their worship was one of the things which are not profitable and therefore unnecessary, and that he himself as 'the Perfectly Enlightened One,' or the Buddha, was superior to all divinities. Nevertheless, as these gods and demons were still believed to be capable of doing harm as well as good to man, though they could not effect his spiritual salvation, they continued more or less to be objects of popular worship even in early Buddhism, as is seen in the most ancient monuments.

Whether Buddha himself seriously believed in these divinities may be doubted. Yet the earliest texts agree in ascribing to him the statement that he descended from 'the heavens of the 33 gods,' in order to save mankind. Moreover, in the early Jātaka tales of his imaginary previous existences, he claimed to have been one or other of the gods in former times, mentioning himself 4 times as Brahmā (the most exalted of all at the epoch of Buddha), 20 times as Śakra or Indra, 43 times as a tree-god, and once as a fairy. In his *sūtras*, or sermons, the god Brahmā is referred to as one of the most frequent of his auditors. And the culminating episode of Sākyamuni's career—the attainment of Buddhahood at Gaya—is universally represented as a personal struggle with Māra, the Satan of the Buddhist world, and his daughters, Desire, Unrest, and Pleasure. This event is regarded by Buddhists generally not as an allegory, but as an actual bodily temptation and a conflict with manifested evil spirits.

The Buddhist pantheon thus had for its nucleus the polytheistic Brahmanical one, which embodied a physiolatry, or worship of the personified forces of Nature. It soon, however, became much more extensive: (1) by the creation of new deities and spirits of a special Buddhist type, personifying abstract conceptions of that religion; and (2) by the wholesale incorporation of much of the contents of the aboriginal pantheons of those peoples outside India over which Buddhism extended its conquests as a 'world-religion.' In this way the Buddhist pantheon has become the largest in the world, especially in its array of demons and spirits.

The distinctively Buddhist demons and spirits of Indian Buddhism, while generally modelled on the type of the Brahmanical, are specifically different from these in their functions, in their appearance as pictured and sculptured, and in their outward symbols. They range from the modes of their prototype Rudra (Śiva) in his destructive mood, through the *asuras*, or Titanic demons, to the *rākṣasas* and *piśāchas*, the most malignant fiends. To these classes may be relegated most of the non-Brahmanical spirits mentioned in the early Buddhist texts or figured in the early sculptures. Some of these supernatural beings, although unknown to Brahmanical texts, may have been local Indian spirits, not necessarily Buddhist, e.g. the famous she-devil Hārītī. Māra, the personified Evil Principle and tempter of man, presents a close analogy to the Satan of the Bible, although he was not a fallen angel in the literal sense; nor was he, like Ahri-man of the Persians, an antagonist of equal power. Though unknown by that name to the Brahmans, he is manifestly a form of the Indian god of death, Yama (Skr. *mar*, 'to die'), and in other aspects he resembles the god of sensuous desire (*kamā*).

As Buddhism extended its range outside its monastic order and became a religion of the people, it gave greater prominence to these supernatural beings, in which the people implicitly believed, and began to create special divinities of its own. These new divinities and demons it figured in special conventional attitudes, with characteristic symbols, which at once distinguished them from the Brahmanical; and the laity were made familiar with the conventional appearance of the leading ones by means of the frequent sacred plays and masked dances. These various spirits are not classed in any definite systematic order in the Indian Buddhist texts, but they are often enumerated as follows:

(a) *Celestial Bodhisattvas*, of a divine or demoniacal Saivite type, e.g. Avalokita, and Vajrapāṇi. (b) *Nāgas* and *Mahoragas*, snake-like or dragon beings, resembling clouds, living in the sky or under water, their maidens assuming siren-like shapes, often evil spirits; e.g. Muchilinda, who shielded Śākyamuni under the Bodhi tree at Gaya. (c) *Yakṣas*, genii often friendly to man: e.g. the *yakṣa* Vardhana (= 'Increase'), who was the guardian of Buddha's family and tribe at Kapilavastu. (d) *Asuras* (lit. 'ungodly' spirits), giant demons, headed by Rāhu, the personified eclipse. (e) *Rākṣasas*, ogre-fiends capable of assuming siren-like forms; *daityas*, *kumbhāṇḍas*, *piśāchas*, and *pretas*, or starving ghosts, spectres, vampire-ghouls: e.g. Piṅgala. (f) Malignant fiends of hell and the soil.

Many of these evil spirits, like the *δαίμονες* of the Greeks, might become friendly and good genii to their human votaries. The exorcizing or coercing of the actively harmful amongst these evil spirits, by means of certain *sūtras* spoken by Buddha or stereotyped sentences culled therefrom, seems to have been practised from very early times, possibly even from Buddha's own day. The right-hand disciple of Buddha, Maṇḍalyayana, is generally credited in the early scriptures with having exorcized evil spirits in this way; and the recital of such *sūtras*—the so-called *Paritta*, or 'Pirit' service—is the most favoured and popular way of combating sickness and misfortune at the present day amongst the 'Southern' Buddhists; whilst in 'Northern' Buddhism such procedure is still more widely developed.

In later times the Indian Buddhist pantheon—itsself an offshoot of the Brahmanical, and living side by side with it—continued to develop along lines similar to those taken by its parent. Thus, in the extreme pantheistic phase it evolved a supreme primordial Buddha-god existing from everlasting to everlasting, the Adibuddha (*q.v.*). The rise of the devotional spirit, with its craving for personal deities to whom intimate prayer could be addressed—the *Bhakti* phase, resulting in the introduction into Brahmanism of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma, and others, with their female

energies (*śaktis*)—was echoed in Buddhism by the creation of a host of celestial Bodhisattvas, male and female, e.g. Mañjuśrī and Tārā. These were able and willing to assist those who invoked them as personal gods (*yidam*); and some of them (e.g. Marichī) were fiendish in type. Similarly, with the innovations of *Yoga* and the degraded Tantra developments, certain sections of the Buddhists kept pace with these by parallel movements which added to the Buddhist pantheon.

The extreme Tantrik phase termed *Kālachakra*, or 'Wheel of Death,' about the 10th cent. A.D., introduced a rampant demonolatry, with exacting priestly rites, into a religion which in its origin was largely a protest against worship and ritual of every kind. The majority of these demons were monstrous 'king-devils' of the most hideous Saivite type, with their equally repulsive spouses. The chief were Vajra-bhairava, Saṃvara, Hayagrīva, and Guhya-kāla. Their function was to be tutelaries (*yidam*) to guard their human votary against the attack of the swarms of minor demons, whilst they themselves were to be gained over to perform these friendly offices by the coercing power of Buddhist spells. Certain of them were also specially selected as 'defenders of the faith' (*dharmapāla*), and also as guardians of particular monasteries and particular sects.

At the present day, such extravagant demonolatry prevails to a greater or less extent throughout the Mahāyāna (or 'Great Vehicle') form of Buddhism in China, Korea, and Japan; but most of all in Tibet (see 'Tibetan' art. below) and Mongolia. The demonolatry of the 'Southern' Buddhists in Burma, Ceylon, and Siam is of the earlier and less rampant type.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Celtic).¹—Introductory.—In the case of Celtic countries it is not always easy to draw a clear line of distinction between the beneficent and the maleficent types of those supernatural beings that cannot be counted in the ranks of definite individual gods and goddesses. There are, indeed, imaginary beings in Celtic folk-lore that are predominantly of a maleficent disposition; but the majority of these beings are, like human beings themselves, of mixed character. The term 'demon' in English has acquired a precision of meaning, as applied to maleficent supernatural beings, which makes it a difficult term to employ in describing the conditions reflected in the religion and folk-lore of the Celts. Again, the term 'spirits,' so far as the facts of Celtic folk-lore are concerned, must be used in a somewhat wide sense, and, in some measure, its use is bound to overlap that of 'demon,' since it is difficult, in the folk-lore of Celtic countries, to draw very clear lines of distinction between the different types of beings which the Celtic imagination has created. The clearest and broadest line of demarcation, perhaps, that would meet the case would be that separating the actual living beings, both animal and human, which people the visible tangible world of everyday life on the one hand, and, on the other, those unreal beings which are imagined as living normally a life hidden from view in those localities and recesses of the earth which easily lend themselves to concealment (such as caves or hollows, or some supposed subterranean, sub-lacustrine, or sub-marine region), or in islands of the sea (actual or

¹ Cf., throughout, art. CELTS and COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Celtic).

imaginary), or in some wild and inaccessible tract of land, or in the depths of a great forest. Further, the lives and actions of these imaginary beings are pictured as being governed by conditions that may be summarily described as magical—conditions entirely at variance with the facts of human experience, but which have, none the less, occasional points of resemblance to those of ordinary existence. Moreover, the beings which are imagined as living under these abnormal conditions are thought of as endowed with abnormal powers; hence, in the Celtic world, they are viewed as equipped with various forms of magic skill, and are thereby specially associated with those human beings who are thought to have similar endowments. Nor is it always easy to distinguish, among these beings of the Celtic Other-world, (a) those which may be regarded as survivals from primitive Animism, such as the animate 'spirits' of inanimate things; (b) those which are ancient spirits of vegetation; (c) those which are beings imaginatively considered necessary as dwellers in a hypothetical Other-world; and (d) those which are exclusively regarded as the souls of departed human beings. In all parts of the Celtic world, as in other countries, there are ghost-stories, wherein the ghost is viewed as that of a particular human being; but very often the relationship of a ghost to an individual man or woman, whose soul it was, sinks into the background of the story, and the ghost is made to act like some other type of imaginary supernatural being. The various types, both in form and character, often merge into one another.

Again, one of the characteristics of the Other-world of the Celts, which may be said to follow as a corollary from its contrast with the normal world, is that the beings supposed to people it do not, like those of the actual world, keep their own forms, but undergo various transformations. Hence it is not always possible to distinguish clearly between those of animal and those of human form, inasmuch as those of one form may pass into a form that is usually characteristic of the other, and, along with the change of form, there may also be a change of character or disposition. Consequently a being which might appear as a demon, in the English sense of the term, at one time, might at another conceivably be represented in some other form as a benign spirit. In some degree, perhaps, the absence of definiteness of character¹ in question may be the reflexion in Celtic folk-lore of certain human types, which are not unknown in Celtic experience, where qualities that are in the highest degree laudable are combined with others that are glaringly out of harmony with them, as, for example, the combination of a highly temperate and devout life with constant unpunctuality or frequent remissness in the keeping of promises and engagements. The inhabitants of Celtic countries have not, as a rule, been sorted out, during a process of severe and relentless moral drilling, into distinct and fixed ethical classes to the same extent as the inhabitants of some Teutonic lands; and the prevalent ethical conditions in Celtic society are naturally in some degree reflected even in Celtic folk-lore.

Another point, again, which deserves consideration is that, in Celtic folk-lore, the beings whose normal home is the Other-world are far from being rigidly confined to that region, but are represented as coming to view in the actual world either by day or by night—in current folk-lore preferably by night. They are regarded as appearing either

¹ In the case of the Welsh fairies, for example, the elements of beneficence and maleficence, as the folk-lore stories about them show, are curiously blended in their characters. They are represented as being at times helpful to man, at other times as mischievous and vindictive (see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, vol. i. passim).

singly or in groups; and those to whom they appear may see them either as solitary spectators or in company with others. They are also represented as entering into various dealings with normal human beings, and among the relations included in folk-lore narrative is that of inter-marriage. Further, just as the beings of the Other-world may enter this world, the men of this world may enter the Other-world, whether by invitation, accident, or invasion. Many Celtic legends, such as *Tochmarc Étaíne* ('The Betrothal of Étaíne') in Irish, and the story of *Pwyll, Pendefig Dyfed* ('Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed'), in Welsh, are largely based upon belief in inter-relations between the two worlds of the type in question. Christian teaching and the spread of education have done much to assimilate the Celtic consciousness, in the matter of belief in imaginary beings, to that of advanced civilization; yet enough of the ancient psychological attitude of the native Celtic mind still exists to enable one to form a fair estimate of the extraordinary hold which this belief must have had upon the mind in ages further back.

1. Celtic demons and spirits in antiquity.—A large number of the names of Celtic deities that have survived (for the most part on inscriptions) are names which occur but once, and consequently they may be regarded as probably the names of local deities or local tutelary spirits. Sometimes the name is clearly identical with that of some town, river, or mountain (see the present writer's list of 'Ancient Celtic Deities,' in *Trans. Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, 1906); in other cases, the origin of the name is unknown. About two hundred and sixty names, which occur only once on inscriptions, have come down to us, and there were at one time, doubtless, many more. Along with these individual names there existed others of grouped supernatural beings, such as (a) the *Bacucci*, of whom Cassian (*Conlat.* vii. 32. 2) says:

'Alios ita eorum corda quos ceperant inani quodam tumore videmus infecisse, quos etiam Bacucos vulgus appellat, ut semetipsos ultra proceritatem sui corporis erigentes nunc quidem se in quosdam fastus gestusque sustollerent, nunc vero velut adclines ad quandam se tranquillitatis et adfabilitatis statum communes blandosque submitterent, seseque velut industres et circumspicabiles omnibus aestimantes nunc quidem adorare se potestates sublimiores corporis inflexione monstrarent, nunc vero ab aliis se credenter adorari et omnes motus quibus vera officia aut superbe aut humiliter peraguntur experient.'

(b) The *Castææ* or *Castæi* are known to us only from an inscription from Caldas de Vizella (*CIL* ii. 2404: 'Reburinus lapidarius Castæcis v.l. [s] m.'). and similarly (c) the *Ícotii* or *Ícotia* are mentioned on an inscription at Cruviers, Dép. Gard (*CIL* xii. 2902: 'Ícotiis'), while (d) the *Dusii* are mentioned by three writers, who all appear to view them as maleficent. The word *dusios* in Celtic probably meant an unclean demon or *incubus*, but the root of the word is not improbably cognate with that of the Greek *δαιμόν* (where *δ* stands for an original *dh* which would become in Celtic *d*), and suggests that, at one time, the character of these beings was regarded as beneficent or neutral.

The passages relating to the *Dusii* are the following: Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 23): 'Quosdam daemones, quos Dusios Galli nuncupant, adsidue banc inmunditiam et temptare et efficere, plures talesque adseverant, ut hoc negare inopudentia videatur.' Similarly, Isidore (*Or.* viii. 11, 103): 'Pilosí, qui Graece Panitæ, Latine Incubi appellantur. . . . Saepe improbi existunt, etiam mulieribus, et earum peragunt concubitus, quos daemones Galli Dusios vocant, quia adsidue banc peragunt inmunditiam'; *ib.* 104: 'Quem autem vulgo Incubonem vocant, hunc Romano Faunum Fiearum dicunt.' Further, Hincmar (*de Divortio Lotharii*, i. 654, ed. Sirm.) says: 'Quaedam etiam feminae a Dusii in specie virorum, quorum amore ardebant, concubitus pertulisse inventae sunt.'

(e) The *Ifles* are a group of male gods, whose name occurs on an inscription at Dormagen, in the region of Düsseldorf (*Corp. Inscr. Rhenanarum* [*CIR*] 292: 'Ilibus Marcus et Atius v.s.l.l.m.'), that were clearly regarded as beneficent. (f) The *Nervini* or *Nervinae* were probably a tribal group

of beneficent deities or spirits that were connected with the tribe of the Nervii. In one case we have, as the name of a group of deities that were regarded as beneficent, the plural of one of the most widely diffused of Divine names in the Celtic world, namely (*g*) *Lugoves*, the plural of *Lugus*.

This plural form occurs on the following inscriptions: (1) at Osma, in the territory of the Celtiberi (*CIL* ii. 2818): 'Lugovibus sacrum L(ucius) L(icius?) Urcico collegio autorum d(orum) d(edit)'; (2) at Avenches, in the territory of the Helvetii (*CIL* xiii. 5078): 'Lugoves'; (3) at Bonn (*CIR* 469): '[Dol]mesticis [Lugo]vibus. . .

Other beneficent spirits are (*h*) the *Di Casses*, who are mentioned on inscriptions as follows:

(1) At Lorsch (*CIR* 1386): 'Cas[s]ibus pro sal[ute] dd[omi]norum duorum) nn[ost]rorum'; (2) at Ober-Klingen, in Hesse-Darmstadt (*CIR* 1398): 'Cassibus vota fecerunt) Macelus) Faustinu(s) m(erito) p(oserunt)'; (3) at Landstuhl, Pfalz (*CIR* 1779): 'Diss (sic) Cassibus Matrinus v.s.l.m.'; (4) at Neustadt, on the Harde: 'Dis Cassibus Castus Taluppe v.s.l.l.m.'

Another group of beings that corresponded to the type in question was that of (*i*) the *Di Silvani*, to whom, along with their female counterparts the *Silvane*, there is a reference on an inscription at Barcelona (*CIL* ii. 4499: 'D(is) d(eabus) Silvanis M. Antonius Cr[esc]ens v.s.l.m.'). This is the only certain instance of a group of male gods of this name. By far the most common groups of supernatural beings mentioned on inscriptions in connexion with Celtic districts are (*j*) the *Matres* and (*k*) the *Matronae*, while there are smaller groups of (*l*) *Proximae* and (*m*) *Junones*. These 'Mothers' and 'Kinswomen' seem to have been regarded as the protecting deities of various localities; and their worship appears to have been prevalent, not only among the Celts, but also in certain Teutonic tribes (see an article by the present writer on 'Celtic Goddesses' in *CeR* for July 1906, and art. *CELTS*, vol. iii. p. 280). These goddesses probably represent a very early phase of Celtic religion, and are to be regarded as more akin to groups of spirits (possibly corn-spirits) than to the individualized deities of a later stage. There is a remarkable parallel to them in one of the current Welsh names for a type of beneficent fairy, namely, *Y Mamau*, 'the Mothers,' used in some parts of S. Wales as a name for the fairies in the expression *Bendith y Mamau*, 'the blessing of the Mothers,' and also found in the name of a well-known hill of the Clwydian range, *Y Foel Famau*, 'The hill of the Mothers.' Cf. art. *DEÆ MATRES*. To the foregoing may be added (*n*) the *Niskai* ('water-nymphs') mentioned on the Amélie-les-Bains tablets (*COMMUNION WITH DEITY* [Celtic], vol. iii. p. 748*).

2. Demons and spirits in mediæval times.—From the foregoing account it will be seen that, in the Celtic countries of antiquity, a belief was held, not only in certain individual gods and goddesses, both local and non-local, bearing names of their own, but also in groups of supernatural beings, who, by the very fact that they were nameless, may be regarded as beings in a sense on a lower plane than the named deities, and so may be fitly included, for the most part, in the category of demons and spirits. How far they may have been considered as the indwelling spirits of inanimate things, or as the spirits of vegetation, or as the souls of dead ancestors, animal or human, it is impossible to say. The Celts, like other nations of antiquity, doubtless believed in the existence of spirits of human beings, which were, in some mysterious way, connected with the breath, the name, and the shadow. Like the Greek *skia* and the Latin *umbra*, the Welsh term *ysgawd* ('shadow'), for instance, was used for the soul. The more usual Welsh word, however, for the soul is *enaid*, a derivative of the root *an-*, 'to breathe.' In mediæval Welsh this term is constantly used in the sense of 'life,' but the meaning 'soul' is also frequent. There are traces, too (Rhys, *Celt. Folk-*

lore, iii. 601-604), of a belief that the soul might take on the bodily form of some animal, such as a lizard. In the Middle Ages, Christianity had introduced, both into Goidelic and into Brythonic speech, certain terms of Greek and Latin origin, such as Ir. *diabul*, Welsh *diabl* (in a later form *diafol*), from *diabolus*; together with such forms as Ir. *demon*, 'demon,' and Welsh *cythraul*, the latter being derived from Lat. *contrarius* through **contrālius* (where *l* has been substituted for *r* by dissimilation). The Ir. *spiorad* (older *spírut*), 'spirit,' and the Welsh *ysbryd* of the same meaning, both come from Lat. *spiritus*. At the same time other terms of native origin for the supernatural beings of folk-lore survived, such as Ir. *side* and *aes side*, 'the fairies,' whence the term *ban side* ('banshee'), which means literally 'woman-fairy.' The oldest Welsh term used in mediæval Welsh for a fairy is *hud*, together with its derivative *hudol*, in the same sense, for a male fairy and *hudoles* for a female fairy. *Hud* also means 'magic,' and this use of the same term for both fairy-land and magic well illustrates the inseparable connexion, for the Celtic mind, of magic with the Other-world.

In Irish legend there are many allusions to the *side* (as, for instance, in *Serglige Conculaind* ('The Sick-bed of Cúchulainn' [Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880-1905, i. 214 f., 227]); and in *Tochmarc Étaíne* ('The Betrothal of Étaíne' [ib. pp. 120, 131]). In one passage of the latter a fairy domicile (*sid*) is definitely associated with *Brig Léith*, 'the hill of Lláth (mac) Celtaich,' the Irish counterpart of the Welsh Llwyd, son of Kileced, a famous magician, twice mentioned in the *Mabinogion*, and once by the Welsh 14th cent. poet, Dafydd ab Gwilym. In the *Book of Armagh*, the *side* are called 'dei terreni,' and they appear to have been regarded as dwelling either in hills or on islands such as Mag Mell. In the latter case, one of the means of journeying to them was in a ship of glass. Some of the fairies were regarded as male (*fer-side*), but they were more often regarded as female (*ban-side*). The legendary characters, Mider (*Tochmarc Étaíne*, in Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, p. 121 ff.) and Manannán mac Lir (*Serglige Conculaind*, 225), were associated with them, and, in the latter story, two of their kings bear the names Fáilbe Find and Labraid. When pictured as women, they were represented as being clothed in white raiment. In the story of Conda Caen (given in Windisch, *Ir. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 113-120) they are described as wishing to carry off mortal men into their land of perpetual youth, or to marry mortals; thus Étaíne, a fairy princess, married Eochaid Airem, and was carried back later on to fairy-land by Mider, a prince of the fairies. The connexion between the *side* and the Tuatha Dé Danann of Irish legend is very obscure.

In Irish legend there was one native term for a supernatural being which was apparently always of maleficent import, namely, *siabrac* (*Leabhar na hUídhre*, 113^b 41, 114^a 12, 115^a 32). This word is undoubtedly the phonetic equivalent of the Welsh *hwyfar*—a term no longer used except in the Welsh original of Guinevere, namely, *Gwenhwyfar*, a name which must originally have meant 'the white phantom.' This appellation would suggest that *hwyfar* had not originally in Welsh the connotation of malignity, which *siabrac* seems to have acquired in Irish.

In mediæval Welsh the name *hud* in the sense of 'fairy' is applied in the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (Poem xxxiii. l. 17) to Gwyn, son of Nudd (Gwyn = Ir. *Find*; Nudd = Ir. *Nuada*); and his mistress is said to be Creudlail, the daughter of Ludd (the Welsh original of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Cordelia, daughter of King Lear). In the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*, Gwyn is represented as fighting every first of May until the Day of Judgment with Gwythyr for the hand of Creudlail. In the poetry of Dafydd ab Gwilym, which reflects the current Welsh folk-lore of the 14th cent., Gwyn is regarded as in some sense the leader of the 'fairies,' since they are called by the poet *Tylwyth Gwyn* ('the family of Gwyn') in two passages. The Welsh picture of fairy-land given by the poet by no means represents it as a 'land of eternal youth,' since among its dwellers are mentioned *gwrachod* ('hags'), nor can it be said that the picture given of its inhabitants suggests their beneficent character.

The expression *Y Tylwyth Teg* ('the fair family') for the fairies is found in the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym (middle of 14th cent.), and the term itself would seem to imply that, in the main, their disposition was originally viewed as beneficent and their appearance pleasing, though the poet describes the colour of one of them as brown (*guineu*). At the same time the allusions to them in Dafydd ab Gwilym well illustrate the statement made at the beginning of the article, that it is difficult to assign a hard and fast type of character to several of the beings of the Celtic Other-world. For example, the

term *pegor*, used for 'a pygmy,' and for the fabulous dwellers in submarine regions (*Bl. Book of Carmarthen*, Poem v. l. 4)—a term found also in Dafydd ab Gwilym (Poem lxxv.)—is one of a neutral type; and so is *corr*, 'a dwarf'—a word which occurs several times in the *Mabinogion*. In some cases a *corr* is represented as acting in a brutal and churlish manner (as in the story of *Geraint and Enid*), but in the story of *Peredur* the narrator appears to view the dwarf and his wife sympathetically. The name of the mythical tribe called the *Coraniad*, in the story of *Lludd and Llewelys*, probably means 'the pygmies,' and they are certainly represented as intellectually acute but morally malicious.

Side by side with these beings of neutral or variable disposition, Welsh folk-lore in the Middle Ages, like that of Ireland, deals with certain types of beings that can only be regarded as 'demons' in the ordinary English sense. The term *ellyll*, for example, appears to be nowhere used in Welsh literature in a good sense.¹ In the Welsh triads (*Oxf. Mab.*, 1887, pp. 305, 306) there are references to *ellyllon* (pl. of *ellyll*), called 'the three forest-demons of the Isle of Britain' and 'the three stag-demons of the Isle of Britain,' but the precise significance of these names is not explained. In some of the instances given, the word *ellyll* is followed by a personal name, as in the phrase *ellyll Gwidawl* ('the demon of Gwidawl'). It is possible that, originally, the term *ellyll*, in expressions such as these, may have denoted a person's 'familiar spirit.' In Dafydd ab Gwilym, *ellyllon* are represented as 'wry-mouthed' (*mingeimion*), as haunting dingles, and as being foul and ill-grown. This picture of them is implied in the description of the owl as *ellylles adar* ('the female demon of birds'). The same writer has another term for a certain kind of goblin or ghost, namely *bwbach*—a term which clearly implied an object of terror. He calls his shadow, for instance, 'a goblin (*bwbach*) in the form of a bald monk,' while, further, he uses the verb *bwbachu* in the sense of 'to frighten as a ghost.' A term used for a kind of female demon by Dafydd ab Gwilym and others is *Y Dderg* (probably meaning originally 'the red one,' *derg* being phonetically equivalent to *Ir. derg*, 'red'). For ghosts, too, the term *gwylltiau* appears to be used by this poet (e.g. in Poem clix.), but the more usual mediæval term is *gwyllon*. This term appears to have been used for 'the ghosts of the dead' (*Bl. Book of Carmarthen*, Poem i. l. 35). The departed spirits of warriors seem to have been proverbially associated, even in mediæval Wales, with the Caledonian forest (*ib. l. 36*; also, *ib. Poem xvii. l. 67*). In a Welsh mediæval poet, Llywarch ab Llywelyn (*Myvyrian Archæology*², Denhig, 1870, p. 212^a), there is an allusion to *gwyllon Kelyddon* ('the ghost of Caledonia'), as if this were a proverbial expression, and, when Arthur is represented as making an expedition (in the story of *Kulhwch and Olwen*) to the 'wild land of hell,' he is described as going to the North.

The abodes of the supernatural beings here described are, in the main, located in *Annwfn* or *Annwn*—a term most probably derived from *an-*, 'not,' and *dwfn* (cognate with *Ir. domun*), 'the world.' The dominant conception of *Annwfn*, therefore, was as a kind of magical counterpart of this world, and the Welsh mind in the Middle Ages associated with it the idea of illusion and want of substantiality. Dafydd ab Gwilym, speaking of a mirror as fragile and perishable, says of it that it was constructed by fairies (*hudolion*), and other references by him of the same type point in a similar direction. Hence, *Annwfn* appears to have meant 'a world which is no world.' *Annwfn* was usually regarded as being located beneath the earth, but certain poems of the *Book of Taliessin* (14th cent.) appear to regard it as consisting of a cluster of islands, to which Arthur journeys in his ship *Pryduen*. One poem in the same MS calls it 'Annwfn beneath the world' (*is elwyd*), and in keeping with this is the description of it by Dafydd ab Gwilym as 'the deep land of Annwfn,' to which the Summer is said to have gone during the months of Winter. According to the story of *Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed*, *Annwfn* was divided into kingdoms, whose boundaries were sometimes streams, as in the upper world. Inter-relations and inter-marriage were conceived as possible between the beings of the two worlds, and the boons of human civilization, at any rate in the form of swine, were thought to have come into the actual world from *Annwfn*. The relations, however, between the two worlds were not always necessarily amicable, and, just as heroes from the actual world might make expeditions into *Annwfn*,

¹ In the current folk-lore of some Welsh districts it appears that even an *ellyll* can be conciliated and made to bestow prosperity, if the candle is left burning on going to bed (Wirt Sikea, *British Goblins*, p. 15).

so beings from *Annwfn* might make raids upon this world. Such a raid appears in mediæval Welsh to have been called *gormes* (lit. 'an overflow,' then 'oppression'). Certain raids of this kind are suggested in various parts of the *Mabinogion*; for example, in the carrying away of the infant Pryderi, in the raid upon Teyrnon's foals, in the narrative of Manawyddan and the mice, and in the story of *Lludd and Llewelys*, as well as in the stealing of Mabon, son of Modron, from his mother. In these raids certain fabulous packs of hounds took part, which are sometimes called *Cwn Annwfn* ('the dogs of Annwfn'), and, by Dafydd ab Gwilym, *Cwn gormes* (Poem xlv.). There appear to be no beings of the vampire type among the supernatural beings of Irish and Welsh mediæval legend, but in Breton stories the werewolf (*bisclavaret*) seems to have played a part even in mediæval times.

3. Demons and spirits in Celtic lands to-day.—In the remoter parts of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany there is still a considerable survival of the older psychological attitude, especially in the sphere of the emotions, towards the supernatural beings of which Celtic folk-lore treats. The teaching of Christianity, whether by Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Presbyterians, or other religious denominations, for example, as to the lot of the dead, runs entirely counter to the belief in ghosts that are free to wander at random among the living; nevertheless, the fear of ghosts is a very real terror to many people, after nightfall, in Celtic as in other countries. So far as the period of daylight is concerned, the older frame of mind may, with the exception, perhaps, of the inhabitants of the least progressive Celtic regions, be said to have been completely modified through education and experience. With the advent of darkness, however, this older frame of mind tends to assert itself in consciousness—not, perhaps, so as to produce beliefs which their holder would regard as justifiable, but to a sufficient extent to perturb the emotions, especially in the presence of some uncanny or weird-looking object. In Ireland and the more secluded parts of the Highlands and Islands, there has been, on the whole, less of a breach of continuity with mediæval times than in Wales; and the same may be said of Brittany. Hence the beliefs of the Middle Ages form substantially the ground-work of the present-day attitude towards demons and spirits as it prevails in those regions. The Isle of Man, too, may be regarded as belonging, in the main, to the same psychological zone as Ireland. In the latter it is the 'Fairies' still, as in the Middle Ages, that are the chief supernatural beings of the type here considered; but, side by side with them, there subsists, in Ireland as elsewhere, the belief in the re-appearance of the ghosts of the departed, and also in the appearance of fabulous creatures, such as the *Puca*, the *Leprachaun*, the Water-bull, the Water-horse, and the like (see T. Crofton Croker, *Fairy Legends*). As to Gaelic Scotland, there is abundant material for the student of the modern Celtic mind in Campbell's *Tales of the W. Highlands*.

These tales describe such beings as the *glashan* (the Manx *glashtyn*), which was a hirsute sprite that rebelled against clothing, and, in this respect, resembled the *gruagach*, a similar sprite from Skipton. One of the tales (no. 100) describes an underground world of giants, and an earlier tale (no. 98) similarly points to a belief in gigantic beings. Another tale (no. 38) speaks of a monstrous being called *Etidh MacCallain*, 'who had one hand growing out of his chest, one leg out of his hauch, and one eye out of the front of his face.' Other tales describe fairies, sleeping giants, flying ladies, mermaids, brownies, and the like, while not a few of the stories speak of such beings as the Water-horse or Water-kelpie (sometimes transformed into a man), the Water-bull, the Water-bird called the *Boobrie* (said to inhabit the fresh-water and sea lochs of Argyllshire), dragons (thought to haunt Highland lochs), and the Water-spirit called the *Fougha*. The Water-bull is generally

represented as the foe of the Water-horse and the friend of man. There are also stories of demons appearing as goats and dogs. It will readily be seen how this mass of Gaelic folk-lore has been coloured by the geographical conditions of the Western Highlands, and what is here true of the folk-lore of the Highlands is true of the folk-lore of all Celtic countries. In the Isle of Man the same essential beliefs are found as in the Western Highlands. The island had her fairies and her giants, her mermen, her brownies, her Water-bulls, and her Water-kelpies or Water-colts. The Water-bull (*tarroo ushtey*) haunts pools and swamps, and is the parent of strangely formed beasts and monsters. The Water-kelpie has the form of a grey colt, and wanders over the banks of the streams at night. The Manx name for a giant is *fower* (from the same root as the Ir. *fomhor*). For a brownie the Manx name is *fenodyree*, and this being appears to resemble the Welsh *ellfyll* in being a hairy and clumsy creature. There are also in Manx folk-lore beings called *glaitig* and *glaisrig* respectively, the former being a she-goblin, which takes the form of a goat, while the latter is described as a female fairy or a goblin, half-human, half-beast. The nearest approach to a vampire in Celtic folk-lore is the Water-colt, which is thoroughly vicious, and sucks the blood of maidens. Possibly to the Water-colt should be added certain Welsh fairies said to eat infants (Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, ii, 673).

In Wales, the firm stand made against all forms of superstition by the strong Protestantism of the country, especially since Nonconformity has penetrated into every corner of the Principality, has, to a very great extent, shattered to pieces the mental attitude towards the Other-world which we find so clearly represented in the *Mabinogion* and in Dafydd ab Gwilym; but in remote districts, such as the Llein district of Carnarvonshire and the Welsh parts of Pembrokeshire, as well as in the more secluded portions of other counties, the old spirit still prevails among the unlettered, and not a few people retain a kind of working belief in the beings that may be roughly classified as demons and spirits. The spirits of the dead (called *bwganod* and *ysbrydion*) are still feared in such districts,¹ and tales concerning them abound. Every uncanny-looking portion of a lane has its ghost, and from caves they are rarely absent. Fairies are still known in most regions of Wales as *Y tylwyth teg*, but the term *Anwn* has gone out of use, except in the expression *Cwn Anwn*, 'the dogs of Anwn.' In Pembrokeshire, fairies were even in the 19th cent. supposed to attend the markets at Milford Haven and Laugharne. For ghosts the term used in some districts is *bwgan*, while in others the terms in use are *bwci* and *bwbach*. It is not improbable that one old term was *bwga*, which is found in the Welsh name of the town of Usk in Monmouthshire—*Brynbuga*; while, in Glamorganshire, the name seems to take the form *bica*, found in the farm name *Ty Fica* ('the house of Bica'). The Welsh word *coblyn*, used especially of the sprites that are thought to haunt mines, is merely a modification of the English 'goblin'; while *pwca* is simply the English *Puck*—a name found as that of the glen of *Cwm Pwca*, a part of the vale of the Clydach in Breconshire. *Ellyllon* are still thought to haunt groves and valleys, and *bwyd ellyllon* ('demons' food') is the Welsh name for the poisonous toad-stool, just as *menyg ellyllon* ('demons' gloves') is a name for the foxglove. The term *ellylltan* ('demons' fire') is also used for 'the will-o'-the-wisp.' In the Llein district of Carnarvonshire a certain fiery apparition is said to take the form of 'a wheel within a wheel of fire.' The relation of fairies, sprites, and goblins with human beings are described in various folk-lore tales, for which the reader may consult the works of Sir John Rhys and Wirt Sikes (see Literature at end of art.).

Among the names used for certain of the supernatural beings here under consideration are *benidith y Manau*, 'the mothers' blessing'; *Gwraigodd Anwn*, 'elfin dames'; *Plant Anwn*, 'elfin children'; *Plant Rhys Dafn*, 'the children of deep Rhys'; *Gwraich y Rhilyn*, a kind of Welsh banshee; *Cyhyraeth*, a kind of dreadful and doleful moan in the night, proceeding from an invisible source; *Tolaeth*, the imitation of some earthly

sound, such as sawing, singing, or the tramping of feet; *Cwn y Wybr* (also known as *Cwn Anwn*), dogs that haunt the air; *Aderyn y Corph*, a bird which appears as a foreteller of death; *Toelu*, a phantom funeral; *Y Fad Felen*, the yellow plague; and *Mall y nos*, a night-fiend.¹ Among the forms which the Welsh imagination has assigned to spectres have been a fiery ball, a black calf, an ass, a dog, a round ball, a roaring flame, a bull, a goose, a mastiff, a gosling. One type of female demon is described as being 'a hideous creature with dishevelled hair, long black teeth, long, lank, withered arms, leathern wings, and a cadaverous appearance.' The appearance of this being was always regarded as an omen of death. In Welsh folk-lore, as in that of the Gaelic world, there are stories of water-monsters, more especially of the *afanc*, which is usually regarded in Wales as a kind of crocodile, but which was originally, in the opinion of Sir John Rhys, a kind of monster in human form, as is suggested by the Irish cognate *abhae*.

In Wales, as elsewhere where a belief in demons and spirits is found, certain effective barriers could, it was thought, be placed to their malevolence and capacity for mischief. One check to them was piety, others were the possession of a black-handled knife (iron being a source of great terror to fairies), the turning of one's coat inside out, the pronunciation of the Divine name, the crowing of a cock, change in one's place of residence, and—last but not least—a barrier of furze, through which, on account of its prickly nature, it was thought that fairies and similar beings could not penetrate. In Brittany substantially the same conceptions of demons and spirits prevailed as in Wales; but, while Welshmen have to a great extent abandoned the attitude of intellectual assent to the legends in question, the more conservative Breton, with his closer attachment to mediæval conditions, is still often haunted by them, and probably will be for a long time to come. In Wales, it is not impossible that, before very long, these ancient relics of primitive belief will be things of the past; but in the remoter parts of Ireland and Scotland they will probably linger on for many generations.

LITERATURE.—J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, Oxford, 1901; J. G. Frazer, *GB²*, London, 1900; E. Anwyl, *Celtic Religion*, London, 1906, also art. 'Celtic Goddesses,' in *Celt*, July 1906, and 'Ancient Celtic Deities,' in *Trans. Gael. Soc.*, Inverness, 1906; A. le Braz, *La Légende de la mort en Basse Bretagne*, Paris, 1893; J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1860-2; J. G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1834; W. Howells, *Cambrian Superstitions*, Tipton, 1831; Edmund Jones, *Account of the Parish of Aberystwith (Mon.)*, Trevecka, 1779, also *Spirits in the County of Monmouth*, Newport, 1813; Elias Owen, *Welsh Folklore*, Oswestry and Wrexham, 1896; P. Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute Bretagne*, Paris, 1882; Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, London, 1880; Nutt-Meyer, *Voyage of Bran*, 2 vols., London, 1895-97; E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891; P. W. Joyce, *Social Hist. of Ancient Ireland*, 2 vols., London, 1903; T. Crofton Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, ed. T. Wright, London, 1870. E. ANWYL.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Chinese).—The two words *kuei shen* (variously translated 'demons and spirits,' or 'demons and gods'—the variation indicating a vexed question in the tr. of Chinese religious terms) together make up a binomial phrase such as does duty in Chinese for a general term, and may be taken as denoting all the inhabitants of the spiritual world, the various objects of religious worship and superstitious fear.

The spiritual world lies very near to the average Chinaman. Signs of his belief in its influence on his daily life are frequent; and it gives one at times a shock of surprise to find, as may happen in a casual conversation, that one's interlocutor—a well-read scholar or shrewd merchant—holds firmly by conceptions of it which are to oneself grotesque. Its nomenclature is fairly extensive, but not precise. Nor is it easy to describe the spiritual world in any very orderly or consistent fashion. Allowance must be made not only for differences in local superstitions, but also for the intermingling of diverse strains of thought in the more generally

¹ In Carnarvonshire one particularly malevolent type of demon is called *Y Bodach Glas*, 'the blue goblin.'

¹ There is no trace in the Welsh literature or folk-lore of any belief that the dead bodies themselves rise from their graves and haunt the living.

diffused religious conceptions. While it is possible that Chinese religion started from a pure monotheism, we have no record of any such time. In the most ancient books the worship of Shang-ti is accompanied by the worship of natural objects, of the spirits of ancestors, and of the worthies of former times. All these elements have been continued and developed.

In the popular religion of to-day, the worship of spirits immanent in, or in some vaguely conceived way connected with, natural objects, takes a much larger place than can possibly be taken by the worship of Shang-ti, confined as this is to the Emperor. The number of such spirits is, strictly speaking, indefinite. In virtue of the spiritual efficacy connected with it, anything—rock, tree, living creature—may become an object of worship. No extraordinary feature in the object is necessary to call forth this religious observance—a whole town has been known to go after a common viper found in a bundle of firewood. Among the commonest signs of the recognition of such spiritual powers bound up with natural objects are the votive tablets frequently seen suspended from the branches of trees, and the small pillars which are erected alongside graves and inscribed to the spirit of the soil, in acknowledgment of his property in the site of the grave. Some such acknowledgment is due to the local genius, on any interference with what is supposed to be under his control. It is a moot question whether the spirit of the soil is one only, identified with Hou-t'u, one of the ministers of Huang Ti (2698 B.C.), or whether there are not, rather, at least in the popular mind, many local geni.

Alongside of such spirits, and at the lower end of the scale of spirits hardly to be distinguished from them, are the supernatural beings called *hsien*, *yao*, *kuei*, *ching* ('fairies,' 'elves,' 'goblins,' 'sprites'), of various kinds, harmless, or, more usually, mischievous and malevolent. Every locality has its own traditions with regard to such beings. In Swatow the morning watch is not sounded because of a 'kelpie' (*yao-ching*) in the harbour, which on hearing the watch-drum was wont to carry off any early-stirring inhabitant. Of living creatures it is said that in the south of China the serpent, and in the north the fox, are those round which belief in supernatural powers has mostly gathered. In general it is said that birds and animals when they grow old become sprites (*ching*). The fox, for instance, increases in supernatural qualities with increase of years, and possesses different powers at fifty years of age or a hundred or a thousand. Even of trees it is said that by long absorption of the subtle essences of heaven and earth they become possessed of supernatural qualities.

Besides these supernatural beings, and wholly impersonal, are the maleficent influences called *sha*. They move, like physical forces, in straight lines, and can be warded off in various ways, as by earthenware figures of lions set on the roof of a house or in other positions of vantage, or by a stone or tile placed at a road-end and inscribed with the 'Eight Diagrams' (see COSMOGONY, etc. [Chin.]), or with words intimating that, as a stone from the Thai mountain, it will resist the evil influences.

According to Chinese etymology, the word *kuei*, 'demons,' is connected with a word of similar sound meaning 'to return,' and a *kuei* is accordingly defined as the spirit of a man which has returned from this visible world to the world invisible. 'Alive a man, dead a *kuei*' is a proverbial saying. In such use of the word *kuei* we must remember that nothing derogatory is implied, and that 'departed spirit' rather than 'demon' is the proper translation. There seems to be no possibility of making consistent with themselves the various popular Chinese views

of the spiritual nature of man and his state after death: to determine, e.g., the relation of the *kuei* to the three souls which each man possesses, according to Taoist teaching, or, according to another theory, to the twofold soul which dissolves at death into its component parts. In any case, existence in some fashion after death is assumed. Whether such existence is necessarily or in all cases immortal, it is not easy to determine. Taoism may teach an eternity of punishment; but, on the other hand, there is a word *chi*, which means the death of a *kuei*.

Kuei (*manes*) are to be honoured in the appropriate way; and, as otherwise evil may be expected from them, fear has a large place in present-day ancestral worship. Each family worships the *manes* of its own ancestors. *Manes* otherwise unprovided for are placated by public rites, particularly by 'the feast of desolate ghosts,' the '*kuei* feast,' on the 15th of the 7th moon. All *kuei* are more or less objects of dread; but in particular the *kuei* of a wronged person may be expected to seek revenge ('the wronged ghost impedes the murderer's steps'), and the *kuei* of evil men are evil *kuei*. According to one popular representation, the other world is for the Chinaman at least a replica of the Chinese Empire with similar social gradations, however, allotted otherwise than in this upper world; and mourning relatives may be comforted by a soothsayer's assurance that the meritorious deceased has been appointed by Yü Ti a mandarin of such and such a grade in the shadowy double of this or that Chinese city. Moreover, however difficult to work in consistently with other views, the doctrine of transmigration holds a large place in a Chinaman's theory of the relation between the unseen world and this.

While a *kuei* is, strictly speaking, a departed spirit, it is hardly to be supposed that all the innumerable *kuei* imagined to be active in this world or as retributive executioners in the infernal regions are of this origin. Perhaps what we might distinguish as ghosts and demons are alike called *kuei*. The Chinese generally are obsessed by the fear of *kuei*. These are supposed to abound everywhere, and to be especially active at night. Any untoward happening or uncanny sound—particularly any sound that is thin and shrill—is ascribed to them. Many houses are reported to be haunted by *kuei* because of misfortunes befalling their inmates. There are appropriate ceremonies for the placating of offended *kuei*, who in such cases are addressed euphemistically (e.g. *Shêng jên*, 'Sagely person'); and they can also be controlled by charms of Taoist origin.

The spiritual world is peopled from the human race not only by 'departed spirits' but by inhabitants of another grade called *hsien*. This name is applied not only to the fairy-like beings mentioned above, but also to those of mankind who 'by a process of physical or mental refinement' have raised themselves to the rank of immortals.

Finally, as in ancient times sages and worthies were worshipped as tutelary spirits (e.g. Hou-t'u), so has it been in later times. 'The gods (*shen*) of to-day are the men of ancient times' is a common proverb. Thus the Chinese pantheon has been filled with canonized worthies (such as Kuan Yü [A.D. 219], canonized as Kuan Ti, god of war; and the magician Chang, canonized as Yü Ti, who is practically the chief god of the Taoist religion); and not only with such, but also with an ever-increasing number of gods of all kinds and grades. 'The pope does not canonize on so large a scale as the Emperor of China' (Legge, *Rel. of China*, p. 184). These are the idols of China whose temples and images are everywhere to be seen.

While the multiplication of deities and the pervasive dread of demons are mainly connected with

the Taoist strain in Chinese religion, the influence of Buddhism has been potent in its development. 'The religion of Taoism was begotten by Buddhism out of the old Chinese superstitions' (Legge, *op. cit.* p. 201). Directly Buddhist elements are also of course present. *Shen, kuei, hsien, fo* ('gods,' 'demons,' 'genii,' 'Buddhas') are the four orders of beings superior to man; and, to instance from both the upper and the nether regions, Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy, and Yen Wang, the King of Hades, are both of Buddhist extraction.

One extraordinary feature of the Chinese view of the spiritual world is the power believed to be exercised over its inhabitants by the Taoist priesthood, and specially by the Taoist pope, the spiritual successor (by the soul's transmigration) of Chang Tao-ling (A.D. 34). Demons and spirits unsubmissive to ordinary Taoist spells are subject to him; and from him protection against them may be purchased. In a case reported to the present writer, a merchant in Chao-Chow-foo, whose house was haunted by a spectre, went several days' journey to see the pope, and for \$200 purchased relief from the spectre's presence; for \$300 he might have had it recalled altogether from the world of men.

Mention should be made of demon possession, where the subject is possessed by a demon causing disease or madness, and of spirit-mediums inspired by an idol-spirit and who utter oracles in his name.

As an illustration of the incoherence of the whole spiritual system of the Chinese, it may be noted that, while the Emperor is the source of canonization, the exposition of the seventh maxim of the Sacred Edict not only brands Buddhism and Taoism as heretical, but pours scorn on their pretensions and superstitions, and casts doubt on the existence of Yü Ti himself.

LITERATURE.—J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, New York, 1865; S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, New York, 1876, ch. xviii.; J. Legge, *The Religions of China*, London, 1880; H. A. Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, London, 1880; F. W. Baller, *The Sacred Edict*, Shanghai, 1892; J. L. Nevius, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*, Chicago, 1897. P. J. MACLAGAN.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Christian).—I. IN THE EARLY CHURCH TO COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (A.D. 451).—It is stated by Origen (*de Princip., proem.*) that the Primitive Church did not lay down any definite doctrine with regard to the nature of the angels. The Church, however, he tells us, asserts their existence and defines the nature of their service as ministers of God for the purpose of promoting the salvation of men (*ib.*). Other early writers are not equally reticent. Some information concerning good and evil spirits may be gained even from the earliest Christian writers.

I. Apostolic Fathers.—(a) *Clement of Rome*, exhorting those to whom he writes to zeal and well-doing, points his readers to the example of the whole host of God's angels who stand by, ministering to His will (*Ep. i. ad Cor. xxxiv. 5*).—(b) In *Ignatius* we find the statement that the heavenly beings (*ἐπουράνια*), including the *δόξα τῶν ἀγγέλων*, will receive judgment if they believe not in Christ (*Smyrn. 6*). There is a further reference in *Trall. 5*, where Ignatius claims to be able to understand the heavenly things, and the dispositions of the angels.¹—(c) In the *Letter of the Smyræans on the Martyrdom of Polycarp*, it is stated that the martyrs 'gazed with the eyes of their heart on the good things reserved for those that endure, but already shown to them by the Lord; for they were no longer men, but already angels' (*Mart. Polyc. ii.*). It is also said in the same chapter

¹ It should be noted that in the longer recension the latter passage is amplified in a manner consistent with the more developed doctrine of pseudo-Ignatius (cf. *Ap. Const. viii. 12*), while the former passage is omitted as possibly inconsistent with his doctrine.

that they were condemned to their torture that the devil might, if possible, bring them to a denial, for he had tried many wives against them (cf. also the Prayer of Polycarp, *ib. xiv.*).—(d) Passing to *Hermas*, we find that, in answer to his inquiry as to the nature of the six young men who are building, he is informed that they are the holy angels of God who were created first, and to whom the Lord delivered all His creation, to increase and to build it and to be masters of all creation (*Vis. iii. 4*). The doctrine of guardian angels is also taught by *Hermas*. Each man has two angels, one of righteousness and one of wickedness. He deals with this question at some length, and states that good works are inspired by the angel of righteousness, evil works by the angel of wickedness (*Mand. vi. 2*).—(e) In a quotation from *Papias*, preserved by Andreas Caesariensis (c. A.D. 520), we find an obscure reference to the work of the angels:

'To some of them (*δὲ τινες τῶν πάλαι θεῶν ἀγγέλων*) He gave also to rule over the ordering of the earth, and He charged them (*παρηγγύησεν*) to rule well.' The words in the brackets are, in Routh's opinion, the insertion of Andreas (cf. *Relig. Sacr.*, 1814-18, i. 14, and the notes, where a further passage is quoted from Cramer).

2. The Apologists.—We find a number of passages in the writings of Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, and Irenæus bearing on the subject.

(a) *Justin*.—The most important of these is the well-known passage in 1 *Apol. § 6*, where, in refuting the charge of atheism, Justin says:

'But both Him (sc. the Father) and the Son who came forth from Him and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels, who follow and are made like unto Him, and the prophetic Spirit we worship and adore.'

The insertion of the angels among the Persons of the Trinity is unique, and is possibly to be explained by the fact that we frequently find 'angel' as a title of the Son (Tixeront, *Hist. des dogmes*, i. 243). With this passage should be compared the *Dial. c. Tryph. § 123*, in which the existence of angels is asserted and their relation to the Logos discussed. In 2 *Apol. § 5*, Justin defines the functions of the angels, stating that 'God committed the care of men and all things under heaven to angels whom He set over these' (*ἑταξεν*). He then accounts for the existence of evil in the world as the result of the transgression of angels, who had 'transgressed the Divine appointment (*τάξις*), and by sinful intercourse with women produced offspring who are demons.' These demons 'subdued the human race to themselves' and 'sowed among men all manner of wickedness.' He proceeds to identify the demons who were the offspring of the fallen angels with the heathen gods. Justin is the earliest authority for the cultus of angels (cf. the first passage quoted above, *σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν*). To the passages already quoted may be added *Dial. c. Tryph. § 88*, in which the free will of the angels is asserted, and § 57, where it is said that, of the three men who appeared to Abraham, one was the Logos and the other two angels.

(b) *Tatian* denies the material nature of demons, asserting that their constitution (*σύμνησις*) is spiritual, as that of fire or air. He also states that their nature is incapable of repentance (*Orat. 15*, cf. 12, 20). The ministry of angels in the government of the universe is also alluded to by the writer of the *Ep. to Diognetus*, vii.

(c) *Athenagoras* defines the office of the angels as being that of exercising the providence of God over things ordered and created by Him. God has the general providence of the whole; particular parts are assigned to angels (*Apol. 24*). In the same chapter he writes at some length of the fall of certain of the angels, and identifies the giants mentioned by the Greek poets with their illicit offspring. He speaks of one angel in particular (Satan) who is hostile to God, and discusses the difficulty of this belief. He states that Satan is

a created being like other angels, and is opposed to the good that is in God. In another passage he asserts that it is the demons who incite men to worship images, being eager for the blood of sacrifice, these images having no particular relation to the persons they represent (*ib.* 26; see further reference to the work of the angels at the end of ch. 10).

(d) The writings of *Irenaeus* contain a large number of passages dealing with the angelology of the Gnostics, which he refutes. He is himself of opinion that the angels are incorporeal beings (*adv. Hær.* iii. 22), and, in opposition to the Gnostics, states that the Christian does (*facit*) nothing by their invocation (ii. 49. 3). He alludes to the fall of the angels, and refers to the domination of Satan and the deliverance of man from his power (iii. 8. 2; cf. also v. 21, § 3, and 24, §§ 3, 4).

3. Greek Fathers.—The doctrine of good and evil spirits was greatly developed by the Alexandrian writers *Clement* and *Origen*. In the writings of the latter, especially his commentaries on Scripture, numerous references are to be found to the functions of angels and demons. The notion of the guardian angel, already noted in *Hermas*, is here especially developed. He assigns to each nation its guardian spirit, basing this view upon his exegesis of Dt 32nd, where he follows the text of the LXX (*ἐστησεν θρία ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ*). But God reserved Israel to Himself for His own inheritance, appointing the angels as guardians of the nations. The power of these angels was broken by Christ at His coming, and hence they were moved to anger, and in turn stirred up persecution against the preachers of the gospel (*Orig. in Joh.* xiii. 49). *Origen* understands literally the 'angels of the churches' of the Apocalypse; he boldly (*audacter*) refers to the angels of churches as their invisible bishops ('per singulas ecclesias bini sunt episcopi, alius visibilis, alius invisibilis; ille visui carnis, hic sensui patens' [*hom. xiii. in Luc.*, ed. Lommatzsch, v. 131]). Each individual has also his guardian angel, to whom is entrusted the soul of the believer when received into the Church by baptism. By him it is protected from the power of the devil; but, if it falls, it loses the protection of its guardian and comes under the power of an evil angel. The angels present the prayers of the faithful to God, rejoice at their progress, correct their failings, and intercede for them before the throne of God. He states, however, that they should not be worshipped or invoked (*c. Cels.* v. 5). *Clement* appears to have some doubt as to whether individuals possess guardian angels in the same sense as nations and cities possess them (*Strom.* vi. 17). But in other passages he lays stress on their work of intercession for men (*cf. Strom.* v. 14, vii. 12, and iv. 18, vii. 13). Under the influence of Neo-Platonic ideas, the Alexandrian Fathers assert that there is a double activity—a higher dealing with spiritual things, a lower with the material order; and that in both of these the angels of God are employed. *Origen* clearly expresses the view that the world has need of angels, who are placed over animals, plants, and elements (*hom. xiv. 2 in Num.*).

The following passages in *Origen* may also be consulted: *de Princip.* i. 6, 8, ii. 8, c. *Cels.* iv. 23, v. 4, 5, 43, 58, vii. 31, 32, 34, *de Orat.* 6, 28, 31, *in Levit.* hom. ix. 8, *in Num.* hom. xi. 4, xx. 3, *in Ezek.* hom. xiii. 1, *in Ps.* xxxvii. hom. i. 1, *in Luc.* hom. xii. xxiii.

4. Later Greek writers.—There are a number of references in the Cappadocian Fathers to the nature and functions of angels. Concerning their nature there appears to have been some difference of opinion. (a) *Basil* held that their substance (*οὐσία*) was ethereal spirit or immaterial fire (*de Spir. Sanct.* § 38).—(b) *Gregory Nazianzen* is doubtful (*Orat.* xxxiv. 16).—(c) *Gregory of Nyssa*

declares them to be entirely spiritual (*in Orat. Dem. hom. iv.*).—(d) Many references are contained in the writings of *Chrysostom*. He asserts that their nature is superior to ours, but cannot be accurately comprehended by us (*de incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, v. 3). They are possessed of an incorporeal nature (*ἀσώματος φύσις*), and he rejects on this account the earlier interpretation of Gn 6th (*in Gen. hom. xxii. 2*). According to *Basil*, the sanctity of the angels is due to the activity of the Holy Spirit (*op. cit.* § 38). They are less liable to sin than we are (*δυσκίνητοι*), but not incapable of it (*ἀκίνητοι*). This is proved by the fall of Lucifer, whose sin was envy and pride. These Fathers assign guardian angels to individuals, churches, and nations. *Basil* is, however, of opinion that the guardian angel is driven away by sin 'as smoke drives away bees and a bad odour doves' (*hom. in Ps.* xxxiii. 5). *Gregory of Nyssa* is the only Greek Father who follows *Hermas* in the view that every man has both a good and a bad angel as his constant companion (*de Vita Moysis*). Angels are described as overseers (*ἐφοροί*) of churches. *Gregory Nazianzen* addresses a special farewell to these *ἐφοροί* on his departure (*Orat.* 32, *sub fin.*; cf. *Basil, Ep.* ii. 238). They are the guides (*παυδαγωγοί*) of the just, and lead them to eternal blessedness (*Bas. de Spir. Sanct.* xiii.; *Chrys. in Ep. ad Coloss.* hom. i. 3, 4). It would appear that *Cyril* of Jerusalem was of opinion that certain of the fallen angels had obtained their pardon (*Cat.* ii. 10; cf. also *Basil, in Ps.* xxxii. 4; *Gregor. Nyss. contra Eunom.* hom. x.; *Greg. Naz. Orat.* xxxiv. 81; *Joh. Chrys. in ascens. Dom.* 1, *de laud. S. Paul. Ap.* hom. ii. sermo 43, *in Gen.* hom. iv.).

5. Latin Fathers.—(a) We find in *Tertullian* a number of references to spirits, good and evil. Like *Origen*, he connects the ministry of angels with the sacrament of baptism. According to this writer, the baptismal water receives its healing properties from an angel (*de Bapt.* 4). Furthermore, the actual purification effected in baptism is due to a spirit who is described as 'angelus baptismi arbiter,' who prepares the way for the Holy Spirit ('non quod in aquis spiritum sanctum consequamur, sed in aqua emundati sub angelo, spiritui sancto praeparamur' (*ib.* 5, 6)). Marriage which has received the blessing of the Church is announced by the angels and ratified by the Father (*ad Uxor.* ii. 9). The angels, looking down from heaven, record the sins of Christians; for example, when they are present in the theatre, where the devil is working against the Church (*de Spectac.* 27). A more detailed account of the work of the angels and demons will be found in *Apol.* 22, where they are stated to be spiritual substances. *Tertullian* alludes to the fall of the angels, corrupted of their own free will, from whom sprang the race of the demons. Of the former, Satan is the chief. They are the source of diseases and all disasters. They delude men into idolatry in order to obtain for themselves their proper food of fumes and blood. Both angels and demons are ubiquitous; both are also winged. These spiritual agencies are invisible and not to be perceived by the senses. On the question of the bodily forms of the angels, see *de carne Christi*, 6.—(b) The concern of the angels in human affairs is referred to by *Firmilian* in a letter to *Cyprian* (*Ep. lxxv. inter Cyprian.* 1; cf. *Euseb. HE* v. 28).—(c) The doctrine of *Lactantius* is peculiar. Before the creation of the world, God produced a spirit like to Himself (the Logos); then He made another being in whom the disposition of the Divine origin did not remain. This being, of his own will, was infected with evil, and acquired for himself another name. 'He is called by the Greeks διάβολος, but we call him *criminator*, because he reports to God the faults to which he

entices us' (cf. the Jewish appellation, *Satan*, שָׂטָן, 'the accuser'; Lactant. *Divin. Institut.* ii. 9).

At this point some MSS of Lactantius insert a passage which is regarded by the best authorities as spurious, and in which the origin of the devil and the ministry of angels are treated in a Manichean fashion. Here it is stated that, before the creation of the world, God made two spirits, themselves the sources of creation—the one, as it were, the right hand of God, the other, as it were, His left hand, and eternally opposed to each other. These two spirits are the *Logos* and *Satan*. The fall of the angels and the origin of the demons, who are divided into two classes, are described in ii. 15, and in the same passage the latter are identified with pagan deities (cf. also *Epitome*, 28; *Instit.* iv. 8; and, on the devil, iii. 29, vii. 24–26).

(d) Later Latin Fathers, such as Ambrose and Jerome, were of opinion that the angels were created before the material world (cf. Ambrose, *de Incarnat. Dom. Sacr.* 16; Jerome, in *Ep. ad Tit.* 12). Some difference of opinion exists among them about the interpretation of Gn 6², Jerome appearing to regard the spirits as possessed of bodies (cf. in *Ezech.* 28¹⁵); Ambrose, on the other hand, agrees with Hilary in the statement that they are 'spirituales et incorporeales' (cf. Ambros. in *Luc.* vii. 126; Hilary in *Ps.* cxxxvii.). The sin of Satan, according to Jerome and Ambrose, was pride (cf. Ambros. *de Virgin.* i. 53, in *Ps.* 118, serm. 4. 8, 7. 8, 16. 15). The views of the Latin Fathers with regard to guardian angels are similar to those which we have already encountered in the writings of the Greek Fathers. Numerous references to this subject will be found in their commentaries and homilies, where it is stated of nations, churches, and communities that each possesses its guardian angel.

See esp. Jerome in his com. on Ec. 5⁹, where he says that 'the things which are said pass not into the wind, but are straightway carried to the Lord, a praesenti angelo qui unicuique adhaeret comes.' Other references will be found in Jerome, in *Dan.* 7³, *Mic.* 6¹⁻², the last-named passage being of special interest. See also Ambros. in *Ps.* 118, serm. 3. 6, and Hilary, in *Ps.* lxxv. 13, cxxxii. 6, cxxxiv. 17.

Jerome is among the earliest of Latin writers to call attention to the diversity in the orders of spirits, comparing the angelic hierarchy with the organization of the officials of the Empire (cf. esp. *adv. Iovin.* ii. 28, *adv. Ruf.* i. 23). Ambrose has a passage which bears upon the cults of the angels, whom he appears to place on a level with the martyrs, and whose invocation he warmly recommends (*de Viduis*, ix. § 55).—(e) Already in Eusebius a distinction is found between the worship (ἀσέβειες) due to God alone and the honour (τιμῶντες) paid to the angels (*Præp. Ev.* vii. 15; cf. also *Dem. Ev.* iii. 3, *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 13).—(f) Finally, for this period the writings of Augustine may be consulted, especially the *de Civ. Dei*, in which the angels play no small part. They form the heavenly City of God, and this part of the Holy City assists that other part here below: 'hanc [sc. Civitatem Dei] angeli sancti annuntiaverunt qui nos ad eius societatem invitaverunt civesque suos in illa esse voluerunt' (x. 25). The angels minister alike to Christ, the Divine Head of the mystical Body, who is in heaven, and to the members of the Body who are on earth. Thus it is in the Church that the angels ascend and descend according to the words of Scripture.

'This is what happens in the Church: the angels of God ascend and descend upon the Son of Man, because the Son of Man to whom they ascend in heart is above, namely the Head, and below is the Son of Man, namely the Body. His members are here; the Head is above. They ascend to the Head, they descend to the members' (*Enarr.* in *Ps.* xlv. 20).

Augustine states that the angels are spirits of an incorporeal substance, 'invisibilis, sensibilis, rationalis, intellectualis, immortalis' (cf. ps.-August. *de Cognit. veræ vitæ*, 6). The designation 'angel' refers to the office, not to the nature, of these spirits (*Enarr.* in *Ps.* ciii. serm. 1. § 15). Angels received at their creation, from the Holy Spirit, the gift of grace, and it is possible that, in the case of those who did not fall, they received also the assurance of perseverance (*de Civ. Dei*, xii. 9. 2, xi. 13). Augustine refuses to identify the 'sons of

God' (Gn 6) with the angels (*ib.* xv. 23). The sin of the fallen angels was pride. The fall of Satan occurred at the very beginning of his existence, and the good angels have enjoyed the vision of the Word from the first moment of their creation (*de Gen. ad Lit.* ii. 17, xi. 21, 26, 30). The office of the evil angels is to deceive men and to bring them to perdition (in *Ioan.* tract. cx. 7). They occupy themselves with the practice of divination and magic (c. *Academ.* i. 19, 20). But the power of these evil spirits is limited; God employs them for the chastisement of the wicked, for the punishment of the good for their faults, or even for the purpose of testing men (*de Trin.* iii. 21, *de Civ. Dei*, xi. 23. 2). Augustine asserts that the good angels announce to us the will of God, offer to Him our prayers, watch over us, love us, and help us (*de Civ. Dei*, vii. 30, x. 25; *Ep.* cxl. 69). They are even entrusted with the care of unbelieving nations (*Enarr.* in *Ps.* lxxxviii., serm. i. 3). He also, like Origen, affirms that to them is committed the charge of the material world, 'iubente illo cui subiecta sunt omnia' (*de Gen. ad Lit.* viii. 45 ff.). It should, however, be noted that Augustine does not assign a guardian angel to each individual.

It has been suggested that this is due 'to his doctrine of predestination, which precludes the constant ministration of a particular guardian angel, though it leaves room for the ministry of angels as mediators between God and the faithful' (Turmel, quoted by Kirsch, *Communism of Saints in the Ancient Church*, Eng. tr., p. 246 f.). It may be mentioned in support of this view, that Cassian, the great opponent of the doctrine of predestination, following Hermas, attributes the choice between the good and evil angelic counsellors to man's free will (Cassian, *Collat.* viii. 17; cf. also viii. 12, 18).

Augustine does not favour any cultus of the angels: 'honoramus eos caritate non servitute' (*de Vera Relig.* lv. [110]). They do not desire our worship, but rather that with them we should worship their God and ours (*de Civ. Dei*, x. 25). With regard to the order of the angelic hierarchy and the signification of the titles attributed to the angels, Augustine declares himself to be entirely ignorant, and appears to discourage speculation on this subject (*Enchir.* 15; *ad Orosium*, 14). (See Tixeront, *Hist. des dogmes*, ii. 372–376; Kirsch, *op. cit.* pt. iii. ch. 5.)

Conclusion.—The evidence of the passages cited above may be summarized as follows. The earliest Fathers of the Church, acquainted with the angelology and demonology of Scripture and of Jewish apocalyptic literature, all affirm or imply the existence of spirits good and evil. At a very early period, as we can see from the writings of Hermas, the doctrine of good and evil angels appointed to watch over individuals and institutions had already been adopted, and we may trace a steady development of this doctrine in the writings of both the Greek and the Latin Fathers, while it is probable that later speculations on this subject were greatly influenced by the writings of Origen. Opposition to Gnostic speculation led earlier writers to insist on the fact that angels and demons were created beings, while some writers refuse to allow to the former any part in the work of creation. Difference of opinion seems to have existed as to the nature and constitution of angels and demons, though the majority of writers appear to have regarded them as incorporeal spirits. A further difference is seen in the exegesis of Gn 6¹⁻². The earlier writers more usually identify the 'sons of God' with angels; later writers frequently reject this interpretation. The legend of the fall of the angels, and the person of Satan especially, led later writers to indulge in speculation as to the problem of evil and the relation of evil spirits to God. It would appear that the majority at least of later writers held the view that angels were capable of sinning, being possessed, like men, of free will. There are some traces of the beginnings

of a cultus of the angels which, according to some authorities, may be traced back as far as Justin Martyr, and which appears to be clearly taught in the writings of Ambrose. It is probable, as may be gathered from Irenæus, that the dangers of the cultus became apparent during the Church's struggles with Gnosticism. During this period we find very little about orders or numbers of angels. This subject, as well as the dedication of a church by Constantine to the archangel Michael, will be best discussed in the next section.

II. FROM THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON TO A.D. 800.—During this period we have especially to observe two points: (1) the development of the cultus and invocation of the angels, and (2) the elaborated and systematic doctrine regarding the orders of spirits.

1. Cultus of angels.—We have already noted a passage in the writings of Justin Martyr which possibly implies a cultus of the angels, and another in Ambrose where their invocation is directly recommended. On the other hand, Irenæus appears definitely to oppose both invocation and worship, and a writer so late as Augustine explicitly teaches that they should find no part in Christian worship. The statements of Origen have led some authorities to regard him as favourable, though there are passages in his writings where the cultus is explicitly condemned. To the authorities cited we may add canon 35 of the 4th cent. Council of Laodicea, in which Christians are forbidden 'to forsake the Church of God, and go away and name (*ὀνομάζειν*) angels, and to form assemblies, which is unlawful' (Hefele, *Hist. Council.*, Eng. tr. ii. 317). But the passage is of doubtful meaning, and it should be observed that Dionysius Exiguus renders *ἀγγέλους* by *angulos*. The canon goes on: *ἐλ τις οὖν εὐρεθῇ ταύτῃ τῇ κεκρυμμένῃ εἰδωλολατρεῖα σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα*. This canon was known to Theodoret, who refers to it twice (*Ep. ad Col.* 2¹⁶ 3¹⁷). In the former of these passages he states that this disease (*πάθος*) is still to be found in Phrygia and Pisidia.

This view is supported by certain inscriptions discovered in that neighbourhood, among which may be included the following: 'Ἀρχάγγελε Μιχαὴλ ἐλέησον τὴν πόλιν σου [αἰ]: ῥύσθη αὐτήν ἀπὸ τοῦ πονη(ροῦ)'. 'Archangel Michael, have mercy on thy city and deliver it from evil' (for these inscriptions, see Dom Leclercq's art. in *DACL*, s.v. 'Anges,' col. 2085).

In the latter passage, Theodoret again quotes the canon of Laodicea, as forbidding prayer (*εὐχέσθαι*) to angels. One other passage in this writer may be referred to, viz. *Græc. Affect. Cur.* 3, where, in answer to the pagan objection that Christians also worship other spiritual beings besides God, he answers that Christians do indeed believe in invisible powers, but do not render to them worship (*σέβας, προσκύνσεις*). He states that these beings are incorporeal and, unlike the pagan deities, sexless, and that they are employed in worshipping God and furthering the salvation of man. The evidence of Theodoret with regard to the cultus of angels and churches dedicated to them is supported by Didymus (*de Trin.* ii. 7-8), who says that churches are to be found in both towns and villages, under the patronage of angels, and that men are willing to make long pilgrimages to gain their intercessions. The earliest historic reference to the dedication of a church to an angel is to be found in Sozomen (*HE* ii. 3), where it is stated that Constantine erected a church, called the *Μιχαήλιον*, not far from Constantinople. The reason of the dedication was that the archangel Michael was believed to have appeared there. In the West we find instances of the dedication of churches to the archangel Michael at least as early as the 5th cent. (see *DACL*, vol. i. col. 2147). St. Michael is the only angel of whom we find a commemoration in the calendar before the 9th century. Various festivals of this angel are to be found in different

calendars, but they appear in all cases to be the anniversaries of dedications of churches. This was the case with the festival of the 29th of September, still observed in the West, which commemorated a church, long since destroyed, in the suburbs of Rome on the Via Salaria (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 276). Five masses for this festival (then kept on the 30th, not the 29th) are found in the earliest Roman service-book, the Leonine Sacramentary (ed. Feltos, pp. 106-108). In the prayers contained herein are found clear references to the invocation and cult (*veneratio*) of angels.

In the Second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787), which dealt with the iconoclastic controversy, the question of the nature of the angels was discussed. At this Council a book, written by John, bishop of Thessalonica, was read, in which the opinion was advanced that angels were not altogether incorporeal and invisible, but endowed with a thin and ethereal or fiery body. In support of this view John quotes Basil, Athanasius, and other Greek Fathers. He expresses the same view with regard to demons, and states that Christians both depict and venerate angels. These views appear to have met, on the whole, with the approval of the Council, which sanctioned the custom of depicting angels and venerating their images (Conc. Nic. ii. act. v.). By the action of this Council it would appear that the cultus of the angels, which had originated before the beginning of the period under consideration as a private devotion, and had met with considerable opposition from various ecclesiastical writers, formally received the sanction of the Church, and may henceforward be regarded as part of the *doctrina publica*.

2. Orders of spirits.—We must now turn to the consideration of the angelic hierarchy. We have seen, in the earlier period, that occasional references were made to this subject by some Fathers, but that a writer so late as Augustine had not only declared his ignorance of the subject, but had apparently discouraged speculation thereon.—(a) The first writer who definitely elaborated the subject was *pseudo-Dionysius* (c. A.D. 500), and his detailed classification and description of the spiritual hierarchy may probably be regarded as the basis of all subsequent speculation both in the East and in the West. The outline of his scheme is as follows. He divides the celestial hierarchy into three orders (*τάγματα*), and further subdivides each of these into three. Thus the first order comprises: (1) *θρόνοι*, (2) *χερουβιμ*, (3) *σεραφίμ*; the second: (4) *κυριότητες*, (5) *ἐξουσίαι*, (6) *δυνάμεις*; and the third: (7) *ἀρχαί*, (8) *ἀρχάγγελοι*, (9) *ἄγγελοι*. It is impossible here to enter into any detailed description of the theory of the Areopagite concerning the functions of the angelic hierarchy. It may suffice to state that it is a hierarchy of illumination, the highest rank being nearest to God, the lowest nearest to man. Cf. esp. *de Celest. Hier.* 10, § 2: 'Now all angels are interpreters of those above them . . . the most reverend, indeed, of God who moves them, and the rest in due degree of those who are moved by God.' It would appear that the members of each triad are on an equality with each other, being distributed into a first, middle, and last power. In this manner Is 6³ is interpreted, where it is stated that the seraphim cry one to another, 'indicating distinctly, as I think, by this, that the first impart their knowledge of divine things to the second' (*ib.*).

(b) In the West the classification of the Areopagite is closely followed by Gregory the Great, who affirms the existence of nine orders of angels, viz. Angeli, Archangeli, Virtutes, Potestates, Principatus, Dominationes, Throni, Cherubim, Seraphim (*in Evang. lib. ii. hom. xxxiv.*). In the same work a number of other passages occur dealing with the ministry of angels, the explanation of

the names and the offices of the different orders of angels, and the manner in which we may profit by the imitation of the angels, together with certain other points of lesser interest. References to evil spirits will be found in the same author (cf. *Moral.* iii. *passim*).

(c) Finally, *John of Damascus*, who in his writings so frequently shows traces of the teaching of the Areopagite, follows the latter in his classification of the celestial hierarchy (*de Fid. Orth.* ii. 3). In the same passage he gives a description of the angels, in which he defines a number of points which, as we have seen, had been matters of controversy, both before and during the period under discussion. The definition is as follows:

'An angel, then, is an intellectual substance, always mobile, endowed with free will, incorporeal, serving God, having received, according to grace, immortality in its nature, the form and character of whose substance God alone, who created it, knows.'

It may be said that at the close of this period something like a general agreement had been reached about the nature and functions of spirits, good and evil, and it remains only to discuss some further elaborations which we encounter in the mediæval period.

III. FROM A.D. 800 TO THE REFORMATION.—During the mediæval period, speculations concerning the nature of good and evil spirits are constantly to be found in the writings of the schoolmen. These, for the most part, consisted in the application of mediæval dialectic to the statements of Scripture, the opinions of Augustine, and the schematization of the Areopagite, whose works had been translated by John Scotus Erigena, and obtained great popularity throughout the West (Bardenhever, *Patrology*, Eng. tr. 1908, p. 538). It is impossible here to enter into details about the nature of these speculations, and it seems most convenient to illustrate their general trend from the writings of certain representative theologians. In spite of the diversity of opinion, it should be observed that the first canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215) made certain clear and definite statements with regard to spiritual beings, and their relation to God, without apparently, however, terminating the disputes of later theologians on this matter. It is stated that

'God is the Creator of all things, visible and invisible, spiritual and corporeal, who of His own omnipotent power simul ab initio temporis utramque de nihilo condidit creaturam, spirituales et corporales, angelicam videlicet et mundanam, ac deinde humanam quasi communem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam. The devil and other demons were created, indeed, good by God, and became bad of their own accord (*per se*). Man sinned by suggestion of the devil.'

As we have said, this decree appears to have failed to produce unanimity of opinion among the schoolmen, and the subject remained, as Harnack remarks, 'the fencing and wrestling ground of the theologians, who had here more freedom than elsewhere' (*Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., vi. 186). But on many points we discern a general agreement. Thus, with regard to guardian angels, all held that each man from his birth possessed a guardian spirit, and that this applied also to sinners, while some asserted this even of Antichrist himself. Evil spirits, on the other hand, tempt and incite men to sin, though it should be observed that even the power of the devil was held to be subject to the limitation that he cannot affect the free will or spiritual knowledge of man, but can approach him only through his lower nature (so Albertus Magnus, *Summa Theol.* pt. ii. tract. 6; see also Bonaventura, in *Sent.* 2, dist. 14, quest. 1, and Alb. Mag. *ib.* tract. 9). But the question of the substance, essence, endowments of grace, peccability, modes of cognition, and individuation of the angels, as well as certain other problems, still remained in dispute.

(a) *Peter Lombard* († 1164), the first systematic

theologian of the West, devotes ten sections of the second book of the *Sententiae* (dist. ii.-xi.) to the subject of good and evil spirits. In his teaching he follows the Areopagite, and deals, among other things, with the questions of the nature, creation, free will, fall, and peccability of angels, and the relation of demons to magical arts; he also discusses the question whether Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel are the names of orders or of individual spirits, and whether each man has a good and bad angel assigned to him; and concludes with a discussion as to the possibility of progress of the angels in virtue.

(b) In the numerous references to good and evil spirits contained in the writings of *Bernard*, two passages are especially worthy of notice. The first is contained in the *de Consideratione* (v. 4), where the angels are described as

'cives [Jerusalem matris nostrae] . . . distinctos in personas, dispositos in dignitates, ab initio stantes in ordine suo, perfectos in genere suo, corpore aetherios, immortalitate perpetuos, impassibiles, non creatos sed factos, id est gratia non natura, mente puros, affectu benignos religione pios, castimonia integros unanimitate individuos, pace securos, a Deo conditos, divinis laudibus et obsequiis deditos, haec omnia legendo comperimus, fide tenemus.'

In the long passage which follows we find a disquisition on the angelic hierarchy, which closely follows that of the Areopagite. In the second passage (serm. v. in *Cant.* § 7), Bernard enumerates some points which he feels unable to resolve:

'The Fathers appear to have held various opinions on such matters, nor is it clear to me on what ground I should teach either opinion, and I admit my ignorance; neither do I consider a knowledge of these things to conduce to your progress.'

The points in dispute refer to the nature of the bodies of the angels: it is asked whether their bodies are part of themselves, as is the case with men, or assumed for purposes of revelation. On guardian angels, see in *Ps.* 'qui habitat,' serm. xii. 2; serm. vii. in *Cant.* § 4; on the devil and evil angels, see in *Ps.* 'qui habitat,' serm. xiii.; *de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, cap. vi. § 18.

(c) *Anselm*, who may justly be regarded as the pioneer of speculative theology in the Middle Ages, is probably the first Western writer to apply with any fullness the processes of the Aristotelian dialectic to the traditional teaching of the Church about good and evil spirits. These play a somewhat important part in his remarkable system, especially in the elaborate arguments of the *Cur Deus Homo*, where it is suggested that man was created for the purpose of completing the number of the angels, which had been diminished by the fall of the devil and his companions. This opinion Anselm rejects, saying that the human race is made for itself and not merely to replace individuals of another nature (*Cur Deus Homo*, i. 18). In the long discussion which follows concerning the number of the angels, and whether the number of the elect will exactly correspond with the number of those that fell, Anselm admits a diversity of opinion, and concludes that it is permissible to hold any view that is not disproved by Scripture. Cf. also *de Casu Diaboli*, cap. 4, where the cause and manner of the Fall are discussed. On the angels, cf. *de Fide Trin.* 3.

(d) In order to present a clearer view of the Scholastic doctrine of good and evil spirits, it will be best to give here a brief summary of the teaching of *Thomas Aquinas* on this subject, where we probably find it in its most developed form. This is contained in the 'Tractatus de Angelis' which is comprised in Quaestiones 1. to lxiv. of Pars prima of the *Summa*:—

Angels are altogether incorporeal, not composed of matter and form; exceed corporeal beings in number just as they exceed them in perfection; differ in species since they differ in rank; and are incorruptible because they are immaterial. Angels can assume an aerial body but do not exercise

the functions of life. Thus they do not eat *proprie*, as Christ did after His resurrection. Angels can be localized, but cannot be in more than one place at the same time. The substance of angels is not pure thought, because, in a created being, activity and substance are never identical. Similarly the *esse* of angels is not pure thought. They have no sensory cognition. Their cognition is objective—not, however, through determinations in the object, but through innate categories. The cognition of the higher angels is effected by simpler and fewer categories than is that of the lower. Angels by their natural powers have knowledge of God far greater than men can have, but imperfect in itself. They have a limited knowledge of future events. The angels are possessed of will, which differs from the intellect in that, while they have knowledge of good and evil, their will is only in the direction of the good. Their will is free, and they are devoid of passion. The angels are not co-eternal with God, but were created by Him *ex nihilo* at a point in time (this is strictly *de fide*); their creation was not prior to that of the material world (the contrary opinion is here permitted). The angels were created in a state of natural, not supernatural, beatitude. Although they could love God as their Creator, they were incapable of the beatific vision except by Divine grace. They are capable of acquiring merit, whereby perfect beatitude is attained; subsequently to its attainment they are incapable of sin. Their beatitude being perfected, they are incapable of progress.

Concerning evil spirits, Aquinas' teaching is briefly as follows. Their sin is only pride and envy. The devil desired to be as God. No demons are naturally evil, but all fell by the exercise of their free will. The fall of the devil was not simultaneous with his creation, otherwise God would be the cause of evil. Hence there was some kind of interval between the creation and the fall of the demons. The devil was originally the greatest of all the angels; his sin was the cause of that of the other fallen angels, by incitement but not by compulsion. The number of the fallen angels is smaller than that of those who have persevered. The minds of demons are obscured by the deprivation of the knowledge of ultimate truth; they possess, however, natural knowledge. Just as the good angels, after their beatification, are determined in their goodness, so the will of the evil angels is fixed in the direction of evil. The demons suffer pain, which, however, is not of a sensory character. They have a double abode—hell, where they torture the damned, and the air, where they incite men to evil.

(e) The foregoing will give some idea of the teaching of the scholastics on the nature of spirits in its developed form. Many other questions were raised which it is impossible to discuss here; but one further instance may be given, viz. the speculation as to the manner in which angels hold communication with each other. This matter is treated by *Albertus Magnus* and *Alexander of Hales*. This communication is effected immediately, and the speech of the angels is described by *Albertus Magnus* as 'innuitio,' by *Alexander of Hales* as 'nutus' (cf. *Alb. Magn. Sum. Theol.* 2, tr. 9, quæst. 35, m. 2; *Alex. Hal. Summa*, pt. ii, quæst. 27, m. 6).

(f) Finally, we may quote one 14th century authority, namely, *Tauler* († 1361), who, though, like his contemporaries, he follows the Dionysian classification of spirits, yet expresses himself with much reserve about the nature and character of angels. The following passage is contained in his sermon on Michaelmas Day:

'With what words we may and ought to speak of these pure spirits I do not know, for they have neither hands nor feet,

neither shape nor form nor matter; and what shall we say of a being which has none of these things, and which cannot be apprehended by our senses? What they are is unknown to us, nor should this surprise us, for we do not know ourselves, viz. our spirit, by which we are made men, and from which we receive all the good we possess. How then could we know this exceeding great spirit, whose dignity far surpasses all the dignity which the world can possess? Therefore we speak of the works which they perform towards us, but not of their nature.'

With regard to the development of the cultus of the angels during this period, the following observations may suffice. Dedication of churches to angels and especially to St. Michael became far more common, both in the East and in the West. With regard to festivals of angels we find special offices in the mediæval breviaries by which the unofficial cultus of the angels obtained formal recognition. The names of individual angels are encountered in many litanies, and, finally, the cultus of the guardian angels received official sanction when a feast in their honour was instituted (October 2nd) after the Reformation. No doubt the introduction into the formal liturgy of the Church lingered behind the practice of popular devotion, in this as in other matters.

In conclusion, we may remark that, at the Reformation, Protestant theologians retained their belief in good and evil spirits; even maintaining that the former intercede for mankind, but forbidding any invocation. This belief, based on Scripture, underwent considerable modification in the 18th cent., which witnessed many and various attempts at rationalization in different directions. The beginning of the 19th cent. was marked by a revival among Protestants of the belief in angels expressed 'in a philosophic and idealizing sense' (*Hagenbach, Hist. of Doctrines*, iii. 193, 334 f.). It may be said that among modern writers of this school the whole subject has ceased to excite any interest either speculative or practical. In the Roman Church we cannot detect any change in belief or practice concerning the existence of good and evil spirits, though we may point to certain indications of a tendency to discount the subtleties of mediæval speculation on the subject (*Liebermann, Instit. Theol.* lib. iii. cap. 2, art. 1, in vol. iii. p. 280). In the Anglican Church the belief in angels has the fullest liturgical recognition, though the subject is hardly dealt with in her formularies. The invocation of angels was defended by some of the Caroline divines: the practice of dedicating churches to angels has remained unbroken. In the Book of Common Prayer the 29th of Sept., still known in the Roman calendar as the 'Dedicatio Sancti Michaelis Archangeli,' has become the feast of St. Michael and All Angels.

The comparative lack of interest felt in the whole question of the existence and nature of good and evil spirits may be explained by reference to the fact that, while belief in the existence of such spirits is generally accepted by Catholic theologians, there is still to be found a strong reaction from the excessive speculation of scholasticism.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Coptic).—The beliefs of the Coptic Christians on the subject of demons and spirits were derived from those of their pagan predecessors in the Græco-Roman period (see 'Egyptian' art. below), and show interesting traces of Gnostic influence. In spells to ward off the attacks of devils the designations of the æons are given, and the mysterious magical names of the spirits are recited, confused in true Gnostic fashion with the Hebrew appellations of the Deity. Here is a typical invocation:

'Pantokrator Iao Sabaôth Môneous Soceous Arkôeous (?) Adooai Iao Elôî, who is in the Seventh Heaven and judgeth the evil and the good: I conjure thee to-day, thou that providest for me the twenty thousand demons which stand at the river Euphrates, heseeking the Father twelve times, hour by hour, that He give rest unto all the dead.'

Here we have the Gnostic spirit Iao confused (naturally enough) with the Deity (Jahweh), but he is not the Deity who is appealed to later on as 'the Father.' However, Iao Sabaôth in Coptic spells is hardly to be distinguished from the Deity. Good spirits are invoked as

'ye who are upon the northero and eastern sides of Antioch. There is a myrtle-tree, whose name is the Achelousian (sic) lake which floweth from beneath the throne of Iao Sabaôth.'

This is a very curious confusion of classical Hades-allusions with the Gnostic-Christian throne of Iao-Jahweh. For the rest, it is the usual gibberish of the medicine-man. The names of the Deity and those of the angels are often confused: Emmanouel appears as the name of an angel, with Tremouel and Abraxiel; the last has a very Gnostic sound.

Chief among the good spirits were, of course, the archangels—sometimes four, sometimes seven: 'those who are within the veil' (καταπέτασμα). Each man had a guardian angel, who specially protected him against evil. With the angels are invoked also the cherubim and seraphim, and the four-and-twenty elders, and even the four beasts that uphold the throne of the Father. These were all conceived as objective spiritual beings, to be invoked in prayer against evil. The names or descriptions of the spirits had to be known, or they could not be invoked: some appear named after the letters of the alphabet, others are merely 'those who come up with the great stars that light the earth.' This is a very old Egyptian touch, and reminds us of the ancient dead who were thought to walk among the stars, the *akhemu-sek*.

Among the evil spirits we find, of course, Satan, whose name in one case is Zêt—an interesting survival of the name of the old Egyptian Typhonic god Set. Fate (Μοῖρα) seems to occur as an evil demon. Disease was thought to be largely due to the attacks of devils, and especially so in the case of epilepsy. It has been conjectured, with probability, by Crum (*Catalogue of the Coptic MSS in the British Museum*, 1905, p. 253, n. 9) that the name ἐπιληψία has been corrupted into the name of a female demon, Aberselia, Berselia, or Berzelia, who appears in an Ethiopic transcription as Werzelyā. Berselia was apparently regarded as a flying vampire, and classed in Coptic vocabularies as a kind of bird. A demon of the mid-day heat appears in the Ethiopic versions of the 'Prayer of S. Sisinnius,' with the 'Werzelyā' mentioned above (references in Crum, *loc. cit.*).

Magical charms (φουλακτήρια) against the attack of demons were common enough. They were usually written on slips of parchment and enclosed in a little leather box, generally tied to the arm or, no doubt, hung about the body just as the modern charm of the Egyptian *fellâh* is worn. The contents are usually vague invocations, as has been seen. One of the finest is the MS Or. 5987 of the British Museum (published by Crum,

op. cit. 1008), from which excerpts have been given above. Cf. art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).

The usual Coptic word for a demon or spirit, good or evil, is *ih*, which is the Old Egypt. for a good spirit. The term *hik*, for an evil spirit, which is the same as Old Egypt. *hekau*, 'magic' or 'enchantment,' occurs occasionally. The appellation *refsaar*, 'sunderer,' 'divider,' is a tr. of the Gr. διάβολος, which is itself often used in Coptic. For 'angel' the Gr. ἄγγελος is used.

LITERATURE.—In addition to that cited in the text, see list of authorities appended to art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Abyssinian).

H. R. HALL.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Egyptian).—I.

Scope of the article.—The delimitation of an investigation on the subject of demons and spirits presents no little difficulty in religions which are of so distinctly animistic a character as those of Egypt. In the first place, we cannot divide the subject and study angelology and demonology separately, because spirits are never good or bad by constitution or in their origin; this aspect is of relatively secondary formation or date (see DUALISM [Egypt.]). In the second place, the various kinds of demons or spirits of the dead, although in very many cases their characteristics, powers, attributes, and dwelling-places are identical with those of the other spirits, really belong to a different category from the latter (see below, § 9; and cf. art. STATE OF THE DEAD [Egypt.]). Lastly, with such a vast array of demons, properly so-called, as we have in Egypt, a short account like the present can give only the general characteristics, while, as to particular personifications, it can mention only the principal ones whose active and definite rôle is witnessed to by texts or representations. In a world in which all beings and objects possess a 'demon' or 'demons,' we must confine our attention to those which are of special importance in the life of the gods or of men.

2. Pre-historic demons and spirits.—Our information on the earliest period is preserved in the earliest texts (numerous chapters of the Book of the Dead), some of them going back even to pre-historic times (as the funerary chapters of the proto-Theban coffins, certain parts of the celebrated ritual of 'the opening of the mouth,' and especially the Pyramid Texts). The chief demons and spirits in these are called sometimes *biu*, sometimes *khui* (see below). The meaning of the special terms by which they are designated is very difficult to state accurately. Of the significance of such terms as *afau*, *utenu*, and *ashmu*, we must admit that as yet we have no precise knowledge. The passing allusions in a very few texts seem to indicate that they were conceived under the form of 'devouring spirits,' troops of monkeys, lizards, and hawks. These are, in any case, survivals of the most ancient periods. The same is true of the jackal-demons (Pyramid of Pepy II., line 849). The higher and lower 'Beings of Sit' lead us to suppose a classification of spirits into heavenly and earthly. The *rokhitu* are, according to the texts, both spirits full of wisdom and personifications of the powers opposed to (and vanquished by) Egypt or the gods of Egypt. There is much discussion as to the best translation of this word. The present writer thinks that the French word *malin*, 'mischievous,' might be taken as an exact equivalent of the Egyptian term with its double meaning. The *urshu* play a somewhat more definite part of 'watchers.' They are bands of demons who watch, lie in wait for, keep their eyes upon. This function has followed naturally from the ordinary evolution of meaning: from having simply designated an individual characteristic, neither good nor bad,

it has become a protective function of a specially determined group of men or a locality, heavenly or earthly. The *hunmamit* are often mentioned; they even figure in a number of representations that have not yet been noticed—if, as the present writer suggests, it is indeed figures of these spirits that are carved on several parts of the sacred furniture (tabernacles, shrines of the sacred barque, supports for vases or utensils of worship), represented in a number of temple bas-reliefs and in frescoes of Theban tombs. They have hardly ever been studied, except by Budge (*Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 159), who quotes, without approving, the view that they are the great flock of souls of future generations. This view does not seem sufficiently borne out by the texts. The *hunmamit* of the primitive cults seem rather to have been swarms of spirits of a beneficent character, in the sense that they watched over the safety of the sun, at the time when the religious world consisted of innumerable bodies of spirits and an impersonal sky-god with no precise attributes, and when the various heavenly bodies (even the most important ones, like the sun) were entrusted to the care of spirits, who directed their movements, defended them, repulsed their enemies, etc. In the historical period, the power and individuality of the gods proper were detached from the mass of spirits, and left a more and more vague rôle to all the demons of this category. The *hunmamit* are also often confused, in the Theban texts, with the sun's energy, and are, it would appear, its effluences or rays. Some also become angel-choirs, traditional accessories, and practically a simple *motif* of ornamental symbolism attached to certain objects of ritual and worship. They may be compared, from this point of view, with various angels and spirits of Oriental angelology, such as, e.g., the cherubim (q.v.).

An important class of demons is made up of the 'spirits' (*biu*) (1) of Pu and Dapu, (2) of the East and the West, (3) of Khimunu, (4) of Nekhen, and (5) of Heliopolis. The polytheism of the historic period reduced these spirits also to the rôle of simple attendants, who hailed the sun when it rose (or the king on his coronation, etc.), carried the litters of the Divine *b̄ari*, and performed other humble or vague functions (see below). Theology has made several attempts to assimilate them to secondary gods of the pantheon with proper names (e.g. Book of the Dead, 'Chapters on knowing the *biu* of . . .'). These explanations at least enable us to reconstruct several of the phases of their original function, of which the geographical symmetries (earthly or heavenly) are a survival. These demons were once the guardian genii of the geometrical divisions (two or four) of the universe; they supported the mass of the firmament at its extremities, and welcomed or destroyed the souls of the dead as they arrived at the borders of the earth. Their stellar rôle also seems to have been considerable; they inhabit certain constellations, or the sanctuaries on earth that are the magical counterparts of those regions of the heavenly sphere. Sometimes they inhabit a special region of the firmament (e.g. the *biu* who inhabit, in the territory of Heliopolis, the 'Abode of the Combatant,' the magical representation of this celestial abode); sometimes they escort certain heavenly bodies (stars or planets), whose guardians they are, across the vault of heaven. Polytheism makes these bodies divine persons, and reduces them to the position of devotees of the sun. Finally, theology confuses them more and more with the various 'souls' of the gods, employing the evolution in meaning of the word *biu* itself. A great number of these spirits are classed together under the vague title of 'followers of

Hor,' whence the priesthood deduced more and more lofty funerary meanings in relation to the lot of the dead.

The historic period, however, preserves a fugitive rôle for them on certain occasions of immemorial tradition, just as the material part of the cult continues to reproduce their images. The 'spirits' of the North and South become a sort of heraldic representation of the forces of the world considered as composed of two halves, or they are transformed into genii guarding the frontiers of Egypt, the sum of the whole earth. They play a part also in several incidents in the coronation of the king. Other spirits, as the 'demons' of one of the Anubis, regarded as a constellation of the Northern world (cf. Brugsch, *Rel. und Myth.*, Leipzig, 1884-1888, p. 671), perhaps the Great Bear (cf. the jackal-demons mentioned above), or as the genii of other parts of the astral world, reappear as figures in the mysterious ceremonies of the royal coronation or the jubilee (see Naville, *Festival Hall*, London, 1892, pl. ix.-xi., for specimens of these figures, whose mystical value has been very much exaggerated by modern writers). As a general rule, however, their rôle is a purely traditional one, and their exact nature does not seem to have been early understood.

Besides the innumerable representations of *biu* and *rokhitu* in statues, statuettes, bas-reliefs, frescoes, etc., several other spirits have left material traces of their former rôle in parts of sacred furniture, on which they are seen as traditional figures, symbolic or even purely ornamental. The most characteristic are certain animal figures on sacred vessels and on some of the statuettes traditionally placed on board the sacred barques used in processions to convey the Egyptian gods, in representations of their journeys in the other world. Thus the 'griffin,' which is found on the bow of all the barques of solar gods, seems to have been one of these spirits before it became confused with the 'warlike soul' of the god; and the same may be said of the birds that are placed in rows on the bow of the boat of Râ (cf. the boats of el-Bersheh), or those on the strange boat of Sokharis (a good example in the temple of Deir el-Medineh). The interpretations of these figures as the 'followers' or as the 'souls' of the god are of later date, and represent two attempts to adapt them to developed beliefs. They seem really to be a survival of the time when these groups of 'demons' had an active share in the general direction of elementary forces. The predominance of 'functional epithets' serving as collective names for the majority of these demons is perhaps one of the most significant facts in this connexion.

The whole question of these groups of spirits calls for an exhaustive study, which would yield the most ancient form of Egyptian religious thought that could be attained, and would also explain the development of forms of this kind (similar to those of certain religions of modern savage Africa) into polytheisms proper. Such a study should be joined logically with an account of primitive Egyptian religion, comprising both the animistic manifestations of all kinds of 'spirits' and the existence of a sky-god similar to the god postulated in so many parts of the continent of Africa. This vague, primordial god—who, however, has no demiurgical functions whatsoever—is found in Egypt in two parallel forms, proceeding from two great local systems of mythology: (1) the sky-god Hor, and (2) the sky-goddess Nuit (subdivided even earlier into the day-sky, Nuit, and the night-sky, Naut). A foundation might be found in the data supplied for one part in the very remarkable work of Budge in his *Gods of the Egyptians* (see Lit.).

3. Historic period: number, aspects, forms.—The Egyptian terrestrial and ultra-terrestrial worlds are naturally peopled with an infinite number of demons and spirits. But, if we look closely, we find that this body of spirits is not so great as that of many other religions. It shows neither the abundance of the Chaldæo-Assyrian religions or of Mycenaean demonology (see Pottier, *BCH*, 1907, p. 259), nor even the crowd of devils and spirits of Vedic religion. The number of 4,601,200 demons, given in ch. lxiv. of the Book of the Dead, is a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* which does not correspond with any teaching or fact of any importance. As a matter of fact, ancient Egypt has not, to our present knowledge, left any of those terrible lists of demons and spirits which we find in so many other countries.

These legions of beings, generally invisible, but always provided with material bodies, are per-

ceptible to men at certain times, or to those who can fortify themselves with the necessary charms and formulæ. Their size does not seem ever to have been a question of interest to the Egyptians. No text mentions giants, though one passage in the Book of the Dead speaks of demons 'twelve feet high' (ch. xliv.), this modest figure being evidently the *sumnum*. None of the numerous paintings of demons of the under world makes them any larger than the men or beasts of the terrestrial world, except in the case of a certain number of serpents (where, however, as a rule, we are dealing with allegorical or symbolical serpents). Nor do any of the ancient texts make allusion to extraordinary dimensions. The difference between Egyptian and Oriental religions in this respect is noteworthy.¹ Another difference also is the absence in Egypt generally of the monstrous or hideous forms which are very characteristic of the majority of demonologies known to us. Most of the demons of the 'hours of hell' are wild beasts, reptiles, lizards, human forms with black bodies (*shades* [?]); these forms are more especially the 'enemies of Râ'), or somewhat colourless combinations of animal and human forms. The demons who frequent the way to the other world in the Book of the Dead are especially serpents, crocodiles, and monkeys. (The gigantic insect *abshâit* [cockroach?] is chiefly an artifice of the artist to show up the traits of this enemy of the dead.) There is only one monster—with a lion's tail, the body of a monkey (?), and the face of a bearded man—which has some claim to a terrifying appearance (Book of the Dead, ch. xxiii.). The demons of the 'seven-headed serpent' type of the Pyramids are a very unimportant exception. Finally, the fantastic animals of the desert—winged lions with hawks' heads, wild beasts with serpents' heads, with winged heads placed on their backs, etc.—are not, as we have said, *afrit*, or demons. It was actually believed that such beings existed in distant parts, as well as the lion with human head, the prototype of the Sphinx. The spirits, good and bad, attached to the celestial world, have usually the form of birds. The *rokhitu* are represented as a kind of hoopoe still existing in Upper Egypt; the *biu* have hawks' or jackals' heads—a relic of the time when they moved under the complete forms of these very animals; other *biu* are entirely birds; the *hunmamit* are either birds or men with birds' heads; and the evil demons proper, the enemies of Râ (see below) are simply serpents, antelopes, gazelles, crocodiles, or anthropoids.

4. Classes, localities, and attributes.—In the absence of demonologies composed by the Egyptians themselves, we may form a material estimate of the principal kinds of 'spirits' and their functions in *historical* Egypt from the following very condensed account, adopting the somewhat rough, but clear, classification of spirits according to the region they inhabit—the sky, the earth, the other world. This classification has the further merit of being that used in the earliest epochs by the incantation formulæ of the magicians, and there is, therefore, a possibility that it corresponds, to a certain extent, with the divisions imagined by the Egyptians themselves.

(a) *The celestial world*.—Several of the prehistoric groups already mentioned persist, but with a much less important position, and more and more confused with souls or manifestations of the gods. A certain number of spirits not mentioned above appear in the representations, but are absorbed in a subordinate or momentary

¹ The Giant Monkey, Gigantic Crocodile, and Great Hippopotamus of the Theban texts (cf. Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, 'Manuel de Hiérarchie,' Paris, 1883) are terms designating at this time constellations, and not stellar spirits, as, indeed, is shown by their representations in the astronomical ceilings.

function, e.g. the bands of dog-headed monkeys who attend the sun at its rising and setting—a theme popularized in thousands of papyrus-vignettes, in temple bas-reliefs, and in the magnificent obelisk statues of Luxor, the temple of Mant, and the great temple of Ipsambul of the Theban period; the rowers of Râ's barque in the 9th hour of his voyage round the world; and the jackals that draw this barque at the 11th hour. In the rôle of all these anonymous troops of demons we have a clear survival of the time when they played a prominent part in the direction and protection of the heavenly bodies, each controlling a definite part of the firmament, and to this point also a study of primitive Egyptian religion ought to devote special attention.

The material fact that these spirits and others of the same type were carried to the under worlds in the sun's journey is a simple artifice of Theban theology, and Maspero (*Myth. archéol.* ii, 34 ff.) has shown that these different under worlds, compiled in actual geographical order, are a product of local mythologies which really describe the world of night and the celestial world.

The groups of very feeble demons and spirits which are devoured by the stronger ones (Pyramid Texts) are not mentioned in the texts or drawings of the historic period. No doubt the whole conception was thought barbarous (see below).

(b) *The earth*.—As in all the religions, classical and unclassical, of the ancient world, the universe of Egyptian religion is full of all kinds of demons, closely resembling those found in the religions mentioned above or among the savages of to-day. But in Egypt there is no proper classification of spirits belonging to water, to rocks, woods, marshes, etc. Furthermore, their multiple rôles in dreams, or in illnesses of man or beast, seem to belong rather to the popular domain than to official beliefs. It would appear, from a study of the texts of both kinds, that historic Egypt had already, to a great extent, got rid of that *naïveté* which is the characteristic of polydemonism in primitive Animism, and which persists so strikingly in Chaldaeo-Assyria in the organized cults. The distinction between official and popular religion, however, is still a delicate question of the appreciation of facts, and especially of the period. It is, nevertheless, certain that phenomena such as storms, floods, and epidemics are attributed to the gods in historic Egypt, and not to the demons, as in Chaldaeo-Assyrian belief. On the other hand, the inscriptions from the temple of Abydos prove that the priesthood frankly admitted that demons were continually prowling about in the air, ready to do harm, and that it was necessary to purify the king's retinue with charms, as it proceeded to the temple. The fumigations and incantations that took place at funerals bear witness to the same practice, while the famous inscription of the Princess possessed of Bakhtan proves the official belief in demoniacal possession. The literature shows us that the demons, as in all other countries, inhabited by preference desert places, the borders of marshes, and cemeteries (where they become confused with ghosts properly so called); and it is a certain fact that their power was greatest at night. They were also most powerful on certain days of ill omen, on which the influence of the good gods was diminished, as is proved by the horoscopic papyri of Leyden and London. The light of the sun put them to flight. They were combated, according to varying circumstances, by means of talismans, amulets, incantations, etc., and in all these innumerable details Egyptian differs from other religions in a material way only, and not in doctrine. It is also very difficult to see a specially Egyptian characteristic in the almost complete confusion that exists, in all these attributes of the earthly demons, between demons proper and the ghosts of the dead; and, as the latter have the same name of *khui* in a number of cases, it is sometimes almost impossible

to distinguish whether such and such a case of illness, dreams, possession, torment, etc., is the work of a demon or of the dead. Sometimes the Egyptian text is quite clear, e.g. in the formulæ relating to 'the imprisoning of the shades of the dead that can do harm' (Book of the Dead, ch. xcii. line 10); and we can proceed gradually to certain classifications by variants.

When well considered, Egyptian ordinary life does not seem to have been so much overshadowed and tormented by the constant fear of demons as in the case of many other religions of civilized and non-civilized peoples. While the official cult admits the hidden presence of numerous demons, we do not find it going the length of constantly trying to dispel them, e.g. during the performance of duties, at the opening of the tabernacle, or, again, at the time of sacrificing. (Porphyry, however, says that the priests heat the air with whips to put the demons to flight [*de Philos. ex oraculis haurienda*, ed. Wolff, 1856, p. 148].) The Egyptians do not, like the Indians, trace trenches round their offering. (Notice, however, in the foundation-rites of a temple, the purification of the ground by means of a mock chase of evil spirits, performed by the king and figures dressed as gods.) Nor does any Egyptian text ever say that demons are specially dangerous at the time of death, as is taught, e.g., in the Avesta. The dead, it is true, are protected against demons during the preparations for the funeral; they are surrounded, on their way to the grave, by every kind of magical precaution; at the grave itself, talismans and phylacteries of every description protect the coffin and mummy (note that these precautions are meant both to ward off the demons of this earth as they prow around the grave, and to accompany the dead, by magic, on his journey to the other world); mystic eyes are painted on the proto-Theban sarcophagus, and other precautions of the same kind are the finishing touches. But all these precautions do not amount to so much as we find, in this connexion, in civilized religions of the highest organization; and we may say that the dying Egyptian was not tormented by terrors of the demoniacal order so much as most races with systems of organized beliefs. We must not be misled by the constant presence and importance of demons in the literature. No one would think of maintaining that the thought of Satan and his demons was a continual weight on the ordinary life of a man of our European Middle Ages; and yet the popular tales, processes of justice, legends, and even theology itself, gave the demons of this time a power, a multiplicity, and a constant aggressiveness which are greatly in excess of anything that we learn of ancient Egypt in this respect.

(c) *The other world* (this term including the various classes of regions separating Egypt from the abodes of the dead, under whatever form they may be conceived, and these abodes themselves: paradise, Elysian fields, caverns, 'passages,' *rositiu*, etc.).—An account of all the demons of the other world cannot be attempted here. A good idea of them may be obtained from the indexes in the various editions of Budge's *Book of the Dead*, or from Maspero's *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptienne*, ii. 1-180 (for the royal tombs). These demoniacal spirits are as numerous as the devils of the under world in all other religions. They are the inhabitants of night. It is worthy of remark that none of them has any symbolical value; the majority are simple repetitions of beings like the mischievous or terrifying beings of the earth. In the group of books of the Book of the Dead type we have tree-spirits, monkeys, crocodiles, a considerable variety of serpents, lions, etc., and the vignettes of the Theban epoch employ all the precision that could be desired on the subject. In the series of the type 'Book of Hours,' 'Book of Hell,' 'Book of the Gates,' etc., we have a more sombre view of the demons, yet still of the same specific character: the serpents vomit flames; a great number of these demons, in the shape of men, of animals, or of mixed form, are armed with weapons of various kinds, but are not fantastic. Their names are far oftener functional epithets than true proper names, and this fact is of importance for the historian of religions. The onomastic list, however, is quite short, and shows the poverty of Egyptian thought on this point: 'the Archer,' 'the Pikeman,' 'the Lancer,' 'the Cutter,' 'the Ripper,' 'the Bounder,' etc. The female demons have the same names, or are called 'the Lady of Terror,' 'the Lady of the Sword-thrusts,' 'the Brave,' 'the Violent.' The serpent demons are called 'Life of the Earth,' 'He who lives on gods'

(= eater of gods[?]). The guardian serpents Akaba, Jetba, and Tokahiru, and the viper Naga are deities by this time rather than demons (see below).

Generally speaking (without distinguishing the various classes of under-world literature), the original Animism of Egypt is reflected in the number of demons that are simply the 'spirits' of material objects: a thread and its different parts (ch. cliii.); a boat, each part of which has its genius (ch. xcviii.); posts, doors, parts of a building, boxes, etc. This process is all the more logical from the fact that Egyptian beliefs naturally admitted that every object, natural or manufactured, on this earth possessed a spirit or a demon—rocks and trees as well as houses, pillars, sceptres, clubs, etc.; and iconography sometimes shows these spirits with their heads appearing out of the objects they inhabit. The evolution of belief consisted mainly, here as elsewhere, in gradually 'detaching' the 'spirits' from their objects; and the demons of our present discussion were transformed step by step into *guardians*, and, in the case of some of them, into *masters*, of these objects. The latter privileged members have contributed to the number of the gods.

5. *Nature*.—By means of a large number of accurate texts, we can form an estimate of the constitutional character of the demons and spirits of Egypt, and by the aid of the ancient texts we can get back to the very beginning of their formation. All our information is in absolute conformity with the general animistic character of the primitive religions of the Nile Valley. The universality of 'spirits' in Egypt is well known, and we have just seen that there is not a single being or object, natural or manufactured, but has its demon or demons. Their different names of *biu* and *khui* did not imply any difference of nature originally, and the ancient texts show, by variants, that the two terms are frequently interchanged. They merely signify the different degrees of carnal materiality of these souls or spirits—which are always material (see BODY [Egyp.]). The word *biu* seems later to have tended to belong to demons and spirits of a beneficent character, while the name *khui* was given by preference to maleficent spirits; but this indefinite classification has arisen purely from later dualistic thought (see DUALISM [Egyp.]).

Now, these texts clearly prove that the demons are absolutely the same in the essentials of their nature and attributes as the most ancient Egyptian gods. The formulæ confuse them constantly. Demons and gods have the same 'determinative' in hieroglyphic script (the three signs of the 'axe' [really a mast with two pennants], or the archaic sign of three hawks perched on a sort of gibbet). At first, the strongest devoured the weakest impartially; and later, the dead, assimilated by magic to these strongest members (cf. Pyramid of Unas, line 506 ff.), are shown devouring the *notiru* (gods) as well as the *khui* (demons).

A single characteristic will serve to distinguish them, and to indicate the process by which the gods gradually emerged from the dense crowd of demons. The demons, or genii, or spirits, are *anonymous* groups, with only a collective name, and confined to a special activity or settled function. As they did not all have the same activity or the same importance, certain groups of them rose by a slow process of elaboration to higher dignity. The others remained for ever a few millions of obscure spirits, whose mode of life was of no importance; or else they formed the troops of spirits of which examples are given in § 2. In the groups with important functions, the characteristics led to fusion with a more individual being provided with a proper name. Difficult as it is to

draw the line of demarcation between a god and a demon in such a conception, a careful examination of the texts leads to the conclusion that the mark of a god is possession of a name. A demon possessing a name is already a god, a *notir*. The case is incontestable for well-established gods like Sorku (the crocodile) and Ririt (the hippopotamus); it is equally incontestable for demons like Apöpi and the twenty-three great serpents of the Pyramid formulae, or the other reptiles named in the rest of the sacred literature; it can be demonstrated for demonlike the cat of the sacred tree *ashdu* in the famous ch. xvii. of the Book of the Dead, and for all the principal demons in the descriptions of the other world. Each one is in every way a true god from the time that it has a name, both for its life and for its aspect. Power, the amount of reverence inspired, and the importance of functions are only questions of degree, insufficient to separate, in this religion, a number of humble gods from demons. Even specialization in a unique or momentary action is not a criterion. Naprit, demon of harvests, Rannit, Maskhonit, the 'Seven Hathors,' and many others of this type are deities rather than demons, from the very fact that they have names; and, if the cult they receive is humbler than that of other gods, it is identical in conception and form. (Here there is a noteworthy difference from what is said of Semitic spirits by Lagrange, *Rel. sem.*², Paris, 1905, p. 16.)

We may now class the innumerable personalities mentioned in the Egyptian texts not among the demons and spirits, but, more rationally, as gods. The following are the chief: the spirits of the seasons, months, days, hours, *decani* (see CALENDAR [Egyp.]), the winds, planets, stars, etc. The astrological nature of nearly all these entities will be noticed by all, and confirms what we have seen of the stellar character of numbers of these groups of spirits before polytheism. The texts show, further, that a number of those spirits, escaping the secondary character of the mass, were treated exactly as true gods by the Egyptians, with a tendency to be assimilated to the principal great gods. It will be observed also that the demons remaining in anonymous groups still retain some worship on certain occasions in the historic epoch. Under the Memphites, for example, there are priests of the 'spirits' of Heliopolis, Buto, and Nekhen (=el-Kah).

The fact that demons become gods by a process of 'emergence' goes a long way to explain why there are not in Egyptian religion, as in other religions, lists and hierarchies of demons and angels. Not only is there nothing resembling the sort of fixed castes of angelologies or demonologies of other races, but there are not even chiefs of groups or protagonists, like, *e.g.*, the Chaldaean demon of the south-west wind. The fact is that, as soon as a primitive group attained to importance in the gradual comprehension of the world-forces, it detached a god from itself, who absorbed his group entirely or became a chief; so that the demons, good and bad, always arise directly from a god, and naturally share his character and attributes.

6. Rôle and character.—Just as the demons have at first no hierarchy, so they have no general characteristic rôle, no functions of general cosmogony, directed for or against the harmony of the *κόσμος*. The distribution of their activities into functions that are always very limited and highly specialized is a strong proof of the antiquity of their formation. Their power does not go the length of raising a scourge like a tempest (see above), or, like the Indian demons, of preventing rain. This paucity of attributes, in a character otherwise always material, and this distribution of groups of spirits without classification, make it quite comprehensible how their final rôle, and their good or bad aspect depended, in the era of polytheistic formations, upon the relative character of the gods round whom they were grouped, since such a god was simply the synthesis of the activities of which the demons were the analysis. The god himself was at first of vague significance as regards his general rôle in the

progress of the world; it was only when he had acquired a more precise energy that he brought along with him his troop of demons—good or bad for man. It would thus be precarious to attempt much precision regarding Egyptian religions. The necessarily *un-moral* character of the spirits does not allow of any classification which would arrange them by 'angelology' and 'demonology'—these terms being used with a moral signification. Even in the historic period their original character remained ineffaceable: the demons were, first of all, the inhabitants of a place or an object, the guardians of a locality, of a door, a passage; they ended, more or less, by having a god as sovereign; while they modelled themselves on his nature and tendencies. But one point is clear, that they are subject to their god, and consequently favourable and subject to his relatives and friends, and hostile to others. They are, then, good spirits for the living or dead man who is assimilated by worship or magic to the congregation of their master, bad spirits to all others; and the whole Book of the Dead, which has not the least moral character (even the famous ch. cxxv. of Confession), is essentially neither more nor less than a series of proofs that magic alone is capable of winning over the demons of the other world, and making them defenders of the dead, or at least submissive spirits. Nothing shows the persistence of these conceptions so well as certain passages, preserved down to the historic period, in which, *e.g.*, the demon, 'the serpent who devours souls,' is considered dangerous to the sun itself, which has to take great care when passing over its back (Tomb of Seti I., third hour of hell; theology has invented symbolic explanations, but the primitive fact is clear).

7. Final organization.—The organization of all these incoherent spirits, united by chance facts (and by nothing but facts) around multiple gods of early polytheism, was the result of great labour. It must have taken local theologians a long tale of centuries; nevertheless it always presented great gaps. It can be partly reconstructed by the help of the texts of the Memphite and proto-Theban coffins. The unifying of provincial eschatologies under the form of the Theban 'Book of the Dead' or of the various 'Books of the Under World' ('Hours,' 'Doors,' etc., of the royal hypogees, etc.) has been one of the greatest aids to this work of harmonization, which adjusted the demons more or less successfully to the gradual conception of the *κόσμος*.

This formation of armies of good and evil, being the final characteristic of unified Egyptian religion, is too important to be studied in connexion with demons alone. It will be treated in the art. DUALISM (Egyp.). For the understanding of this present article we may note here only the following facts: the grouping around the sun and his companions of former adjutant demons of the Stars, or vassals of Thoth, Horus, Hathor, etc.; the inverse grouping, around the Great Serpent Apöpi and his officers, of the chief demons opposed to the sun. Finally, a god of order and light, Osiris-Rä, is opposed, with all his allies, to a Sit-Apöpi, the prince of evil and darkness, and the enemy of order. The struggle continues without truce and with its fixed dates (see CALENDAR [Egyp.]), until, in the last period, Sit-Apöpi becomes confused in Coptic religion with Satan. This dualism, already developed in the Theban era, throws light upon the representations of the under world of this period, in which armies of demons, under command of Rä, tear, stab, decapitate, slaughter, and burn legions of the damned.

The damned are not sinners in the moral sense, but adversaries of Rä, conquered enemies. This task was reserved for the last centuries—to transform hostility to the sun, Rä, into hostility to the moral law of Rä-Osiris; but the task was accomplished (see DUALISM [Egyp.]). Even the forty-two judges of the Negative Confession are only silent demons with no moral rôle, and quite artificial; and Shait, the demon who devours the souls rejected by Osiris, is only an entity with no moral character.

The absence of a part in the good or evil of the moral world appears still more clearly in the conception of the rôle of demons in connexion with the living. There is no single Egyptian text in which they have any part in the sins of men, or in suggesting evil thoughts, or even, as in Assyria, in sowing seeds of envy, misunderstanding, and family quarrels. They are restricted exclusively to physiological evil.

Petrie's remarkable book, *Personal Religion in Egypt before Christianity* (London, 1910), shows, however, a class of demons in the hermetic literature who play a perverse part (see pp. 42, 49, 64, 86, 115, 166). But, in spite of the author's efforts to assign the first compositions to a very ancient period, the earliest date he can reach (6th cent.) merely succeeds in showing the coincidence of these new ideas with the Persian dominion; this emphasizes the resemblance between these non-Egyptian characters and the teaching of the Persian religion. We may add that at no time in Egyptian religion is the army of demons ever seen increasing its ranks by the soul of a single sinner.

8. Popular demonography.—The phase of demons which has attracted the keenest attention of Egyptologists is their rôle in popular life and literature and in current magic. The causes of this are the abundance of information furnished by papyrology, the picturesqueness and precision which such documents give to the knowledge of Egyptian life, and the data they supply for the study of magic. From a comparative point of view, however, such a study does not exhibit many of the characteristic traits. An account—even highly condensed—of the activity of demons in Egyptian life or superstition would require considerable space (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Egyp.], MAGIC [Egyp.]). As everywhere, here the demons are at the command of the magician, to bring about dreams and illnesses, human or animal; or else they themselves cause these phenomena, just as they cause madness and epilepsy (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Egyp.]).

The horoscopic or simply superstitious influence of days, the force of the voice, the sensitiveness of demons to song, to the *carmen*, the chant, are facts that apply to all popular religions. The purely Egyptian traits are not many: the demons have sex (see Hierarchic Papyrus); there are none of the sexless demons of Assyria. The popular literature (see the Story of Satni-Khamois) seems to indicate the possibility of belief in *incubi* or *succubæ*, but the passages, which are very numerous, require to be discussed carefully. The threatening aspect of demons in connexion with infants (see CHILDREN [Egyp.]; also Berlin Papyrus, 3027) is also the same as appears elsewhere. On the other hand, we must remember the restrictions made above—the abundance of demons in the magic and literary papyri is not to be taken as a faithful picture of the actual life of the Egyptians. It will be noticed, further, that the Egyptians never mention demons who are wantonly cruel, or thirsting for blood, death, and carnage, as in Chaldaeo-Assyria, or demons who dare to *attack* the gods (the combats between Rā and the demons of Apōpi are *antagonism*, which is a different thing). The purely animistic character of these demons, struggling to live on their own account, but never doing evil for evil's sake, is worth noting. Finally, the sum of all the innumerable details supplied from Egyptian evidences shows us a state of affairs (1) differing only by attenuation from that of the ancient civilizations of the classic East or the societies of the savages of modern Africa, and (2) somewhat similar to the classical Mediterranean civilizations of the Europe of the Middle Ages or of the Renaissance.

As in all religions during decline, we observe at later epochs the growth of demoniacal beliefs in connexion with black magic, and in opposition to the official cults. The combination of Egyptian

with other Asiatic or Mediterranean demonologies shows itself in the demotic papyri, and particularly in the *tabellæ devotionis* (see MAGIC [Egyp.] and, provisionally, Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, or Erman, *Die ägypt. Rel.*, ch. vii.).

9. Ghosts.—The complexity of the Egyptian notion of personality is an initial difficulty in the way of classifying the phenomena relating to ghosts. The eight or nine elements which, in the historic period, constitute a person (see BODY [Egyp.]) have each their fate, form, and habitation in the second existence. The only one of these that concerns our present purpose is the *khu*.

The etymology of the word *khu* is still very doubtful, and we cannot deduce any indication whatever of the primitive rôle from the radical meaning of the word. The sense of 'luminous,' 'brilliant,' has suggested to several authorities the explanation based on the phosphorescence of putrefying flesh, or on the will-o'-the-wisps playing in certain parts of Egypt on the skirts of the desert, supposed to be the favourite haunts of ghosts. A loftier interpretation has been proposed, taking the word *khu* as a brilliant spark, a part of the solar substance. But this seems to involve the theological speculations which played upon the amphibological meaning of the word when solar theories held the first rank in eschatological doctrine. The signification '*honoris* or *timoris causa*,' which would attach a complimentary meaning of 'resplendent' or 'glorious' to the epithet *khu* given to the ghosts of the dead, seems more probable, but has never yet been definitely proposed by the Egyptological School. The present writer would suggest, finally, a connexion between this name of 'luminous,' which is the intrinsic meaning of *khu*, and the special soul 'which shines in the eyes,' and to which a great many peoples accord a particular personality. The observation of the difference between the lustre of the living eye and the dullness of the dead eye suggested, in Egypt as among those peoples, the idea of a special 'soul-force' having magic virtues of its own (which would justify, besides, all the magic relating to the power of the look), and continuing to live after death with the various attributes which we accord to ghosts. There is, however, no formal proof by texts of this explanation.

The *khu* is generally a wretched being. It has never been credited with a lofty rôle. It is *a priori* a wandering, unhappy, hungry being, a sort of outcast from the great crowd of the dead and other 'spirits'—such as a dead man, *e.g.*, whose grave has been destroyed, and whose soul, double, etc., have perished by privation or by the attacks of monsters. Accordingly, we never find the *khu* of a king or a nobleman appearing in the texts in the rôle of 'ghost,' as this rôle is always a humble and maleficent one. The attributes of the Egyptian ghost, then, reduce themselves finally to those of harmful demons, and agree very largely with what is believed on the subject in all religions. Ghosts afflict people with 'demonic possession' in all its varieties; they torment in dreams (*q.v.*); they find their way into the interior of the body of living people, and cause innumerable ills (see DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Egyp.]); they appear suddenly to terrify the living, especially at certain hours of the night, and preferably in the neighbourhood of cemeteries, or in places reputed to be their favourite haunts (cf. Maspero, *Contes populaires, passim*); they attempt to violate any woman they can take by surprise in a lonely place (*e.g.* one of the chapters of the Book of the Two Ways, in which a magic power is accorded the *khu* 'of taking by force any woman he wants'); or, in order to devour living substance, they throw themselves into the body of beasts, excite them to frenzy, and cause them to die; the *khru* of women dying in child-birth aim especially at causing infants to die (cf. the curious formulæ of the papyrus *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, published by Erman, 1901; see also Erman, *Religion*, p. 158, etc., for other good examples of the part played by ghosts; this belief is analogous to numerous beliefs throughout all Africa). The *khru* of suicides, executed criminals, unburied dead, and shipwrecked sailors are particularly tormented and miserable. It was to them that the magician of the later centuries applied by preference—conjuring, invoking, and putting them at his service for his thousand and one evil purposes:

tormenting in sleep, causing death by enchantment or by fever, assisting lovers to exact vengeance, or helping those who wished to attract or recall an unfaithful mistress (cf. the series of *tabellae devotionis*, the dominating Egyptian element in which is nevertheless tinged with magic of Asiatic or North African origin). The baleful activity of all these ghosts is naturally specially excited at certain unfavourable times in the calendar (see CALENDAR [Egyp.]), and they come in their hordes at these times to join the troops of evil 'spirits' struggling against order (see DUALISM [Egyp.]), just like a band of plunderers accompanying the real combatants. Very seldom do we find mention of a *khu* playing the simple inoffensive part of a ghost (Budge cites one example, in *Egyp. Magic*, Lond. 1899, p. 219, of a *khu* which points out to a mortal a suitable place for building a tomb), this form of activity being reserved especially for the 'doubles' and the 'souls' (see STATE OF THE DEAD [Egyp.]).

10. Conclusions.—The original complete confusion of troops of demons (or spirits) with the earliest gods has been affirmed repeatedly in this article. On the other hand, it has been said that the spirits of the dead were confused with the demons as to habitat, needs, functions, character, and powers. This double assertion would require a more detailed demonstration than is here possible. Presented thus in a condensed form, it seems to lead, by syllogism, to an equating of the spirits of the dead with the first gods, in whole or in part. But, as a matter of fact, no theory of Egyptian religion could be more contrary to truth or more capable of vitiating all knowledge of that religion. Never at any time or under any form did the Egyptian dead become gods. The case of the sons or heirs of gods (chiefs and kings) belongs to an entirely different category, and the confusion of the dead with Osiris, or some other of the gods of the dead, by magic or by religious process is either an eunymous assimilation or an absorption of the dead man's personality by an already existing god. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to insist on the fact that the demons and spirits, the original forms of the Egyptian gods, have nothing to do with the spirits of the dead in their essential nature, but merely resemble them in the aspects of their activity (see STATE OF THE DEAD [Egyp.]). Between the nature of 'spirits' and 'demons'—all those myriads of beings, this 'dust of gods' from which the gods sprang—and the nature of the spirits of the dead there is an impassable limit set which Lang has called 'the abyss of death.' The spirits, or *khuu*, of the Egyptian dead come from beings who did not exist before their birth on earth, who have known physical death, and are liable to suffer the 'second death,' or final destruction. None of these three characteristics can be applied to the demons or genii any more than to the first of the actual gods, who became detached from their various innumerable troops of spirits. Later theologies credited the gods of the historic period with having been born, and even attributed to Osiris or his mythological 'doublets' a physical death. They never touched on the third characteristic. And, on the other hand, Egypt never knew of an ordinary mortal who became a god, or for whom there was such a possibility even under the humble form of a demon.

LITERATURE.—The provisional state of the sources and evidence regarding demonology has been noted in the course of the article. The whole theory of spirits has never been gathered together in one work; views on the spirits, however, are scattered through all the works that discuss Egyptian religion. We may only mention, among those in which the information is more specially grouped, the following: E. Amélineau, *Prolegomenes*, Paris, 1908 (where an exactly opposite euhemeristic theory is supported at length); E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1901, *Gods of the Egyptians*, do. 1904, *Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, do. 1909, *Opening of*

the Mouth, do. 1909, and *Book of the Dead*, do. 1909; A. Erman, *Die ägypt. Relig.*, Berlin, 1905; G. Maspero, *Études de mythol. et d'archéol.*, vol. ii., Paris, 1893, and *Contes populaires*, do. 1908; W. M. F. Petrie, *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1898. A certain number of details are given in the manuals of Egyp. religion of Ermon (Paris, 1910), Petrie (London, 1906), Virey (Paris, 1910), and A. Wiedemann (Münster, 1890). The documentation proper naturally fills the whole series of Egyptological monumental bibliography. See especially, besides the works already mentioned, É. Lefébure, *Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, Paris, 1883; and P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, Indexes, Cairo, 1903-1906.

GEORGE FOUCART.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Greek).—Students of Greek literature cannot fail to be impressed by the complex system of the Olympian theocracy, and by the richness of legendary fable which envelops it. In variety of detail and precision of outline it seems to be separated by long periods of development from the vague beliefs and rude ceremonies which characterize the religions of primitive man. But, while it is certain that the Greek gods, as they appear in literature, are the product of a long course of evolution, beliefs in the existence of various supernatural beings, which belong to an earlier stratum of religious thought, and can be paralleled from the records now available of savage superstitions, continued to maintain themselves during historical times. Of these intermediate beings the most important are those known as demons.

1. In early times.—In early religion the most powerful forces are those which are comprehensively attributed to Animism. To these belong the notions that all natural objects are informed with a living principle akin to the human soul, and that the souls of the dead continue to visit the haunts with which they were familiar in life. To the operation of these spiritual powers are ascribed such of the vicissitudes of life as cannot be explained by visible agencies. Similarly, it is inferred that the soul of a living man may be temporarily detached from its normal habitation in the body, as in sleep or trance; and that the bodies of the living may be possessed by alien spirits, as in epilepsy, lunacy, or hysteria. There is plenty of evidence that beliefs of this kind flourished in ancient Greece as vigorously as they have survived in mediæval and modern times; and the general name of 'demons,' which the Greeks gave to certain of these invisible but potent spirits, has been adopted by modern writers, who employ the term 'demonology' to describe the science relating to supernatural beings with a nature intermediate between that of gods and men.

But, in the exposition of these beliefs, we are met with difficulties arising from the nature of the evidence. We cannot reach the crude fancies of the vulgar in their original form, but are obliged to view them through the transfiguring medium of literature. The rationalizing genius of the race stands in our way. The notices relating to demons are drawn, for the most part, either from the writings of philosophers, who endeavoured to harmonize current superstitions with their own interpretation of the universe; or from poetry, where the creative imagination insensibly tones the simple outlines of the popular conception.

The earliest text requiring notice is the passage of Hesiod (*Op.* 122 ff., 251 ff.) in which he identifies the demons with the souls of those who lived in the Golden Age. They are described as continuing in the upper world, kindly guardians of men, distributors of prosperity and wealth, but wrapped in darkness so as to be invisible while they wander over every region of the earth. Here we meet the statement that the demons are the souls of the dead, overlaid with the legend of the Four Ages and the deterioration of mankind. For the popular belief on which it rests we must refer to passages

where the Greek *δαίμονες* is employed, like the Latin *manes*, to denote the spirits of the departed (Lucian, *de Luctu*, 24; for the evidence of inscriptions, where *δαίμονες* = *dis manibus*, see Roscher, i. 929; Frazer, *Pausan.*, 1900, iv. 24). The literary evidence is hardly less conclusive, when we find Darius and Alcestis described as demons in reference to their condition after death (*Æsch. Pers.* 623; *Eur. Alc.* 1003), and when the Muse prophesies that Rhesus, though dead, shall rest hidden in a Thracian cave as a man-demon (*ἀνθρωποδαίμων*, *Eur. Rhes.* 971). See, further, Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 243 ff.; a somewhat different view is taken by Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 95, 153. As the shades of ancestors, so long as they are treated with due respect, are expected to show favour, a reference to the 'good demon' sometimes implies nothing more than this (Waser, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2012). But the good demon also appears in circumstances which cannot be associated with ancestor-worship. In Boeotia a sacrifice to the good demon was made the occasion for first tasting the new must (*Plut. Qu. Conv.* iii. 7. 1, p. 655 E); and at Athens it was the custom after dinner to pour out a small libation of unmixed wine in his honour (*Aristoph. Eq.* 85, etc.). At other times he is the personification of good fortune, as the protecting spirit of a community, a family, or an individual; in this sense, Nero arrogated to himself the title of 'good demon of the world' (*CIG* iii. 4699). See Rohde, i. 254 f.

With the various manifestations of the good demon we may contrast cases where the influence of the spirit was pernicious. An evil spirit was often conceived as a ghost.

A good illustration is afforded by the story of Euthymus the boxer, who fought with a 'hero' enshrined at Temesa in S. Italy. This was the ghost of one of Odysseus' crew, Polites or Alyhas, who had been stoned to death by the people of Temesa for ravishing a girl. Every year the ghost required the dedication to him of the fairest maiden in Temesa as his wife, which was yielded by the townsfolk in order to save themselves from his wrath. The practice was of immemorial antiquity at the time when Euthymus chanced to come to Temesa, and, having entered the temple, saw the maiden, and fell in love with her. So Euthymus put on his armour, and, when the ghost appeared, withstood his assault and vanquished him; and the hero, driven from the land, plunged into the sea, and was never seen again. Pausanias, who tells the story (vi. 6, 7-11), as well as other authorities (Strabo, p. 255; *Suid. s.v. Εὐθύμους*), had seen a picture illustrating the event which he records, and, in the course of describing it, he quaintly remarks: 'The ghost was of a horrid black colour, and his whole appearance was most dreadful, and he wore a wolfskin.' The ghost-idea is less prominent in the story of the demon of Anagyris, one of the Athenian demes, who destroyed the family of a neighbouring peasant for a trespass committed on his sanctuary (*Suid. s.v. Ἀναγυρίσσιος δαίμων*).

Hesiod (*Op.* 159, 172) distinguished between 'heroes' and 'demons,' and later philosophical speculation treated demons as belonging to a higher grade of dignity (*Plut. de Def. Or.* 10, p. 415 B). But in stories like the above the two terms are used without distinction; and heroes as ghostly beings were considered so dangerous that persons passing by their shrines were warned to keep silence, lest they should suffer injury (*Hesych. s.v. κρηττονας*). The belief that a hero is incapable of conferring blessings, and is only powerful to work ill, is enforced by Babrius, *Fab.* 63.

Other evil demons are represented as specially attached to an individual. Thus, the dread and strange vision of monstrous and fearful shape which appeared to M. Brutus in his last campaign announced itself to him as his evil demon (*Plut. Brut.* 36). Or an avenging demon may be the instrument appointed to punish the crimes of a particular family, as when, in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus (1477), after the murder of her husband, Clytemnestra boasts that she herself is the incarnate demon of the Pelopids, 'so gross with overgrown flesh.' In such capacity the evil demon

often bore the special title of 'Alastor'; and in the *Persæ* (357) the slave Sicinnus, who entrapped Xerxes into a fatal manoeuvre, so that he lost the battle of Salamis, is described by the Persian messenger to Atossa as having been inspired by an *alastor*. Sophocles, in referring to an action impossible for any one but a madman, does not hesitate to say: 'Who would choose this, unless maddened by avenging fiends?' (*δοῖς μὴ ἔ' ἀλαστροῶν νοσῶ* [*Trach.* 1235]). It would be easy to multiply instances where demonic agencies are made responsible for good or evil fortune; and it is not surprising that the prevalence of such opinions opened the door to chicanery and imposture. Among the crowds of oracle-mongers, diviners, and interpreters of dreams, who swarmed at Athens during the latter part of the 5th cent. B.C., were some who professed to foretell the future by the agency of familiar spirits obedient to their summons. A notorious instance was Eurycles the ventriloquist (*ἐγγαστρίμυθος, στερεόμαντις*), who, by giving utterance to his oracles in a feigned voice, persuaded his hearers that they were the pronouncements of a demon lodged within his own breast (*Aristoph. Vesp.* 1019; *Plat. Soph.* 252 C and the scholl.). This proceeding corresponds exactly with the methods of savage magicians, as reported by E. B. Tylor in his article on 'Demonology' (*EBR*⁹ vii. 63).

The notion of a guardian spirit, which watches over a man from his birth, directs his actions, and may be either friendly or hostile, was widely entertained among the Greeks. It is best expressed in the famous fragment of Menander (550 K.): 'By every man at birth a good demon takes his stand, to initiate him in the mysteries of life.' This is not a literary fancy, but a popular opinion: 'There are many who have a craven soul, but a good demon,' says Theognis (161). Or we may appeal to Pindar, a witness of a very different type (*Pyth.* v. 122): 'The mighty purpose of Zeus directs the demon of those whom he loves' (see W. Headlam, in *JPh* xxx. [1906] 304; Rohde, ii. 316; Usener, 296). But, in regard to the force of particular passages, there is room for disagreement. The word *δαίμων* is used in such a way that it is often difficult to seize its exact significance in a particular context. Thus, besides bearing the special meaning with which we are now concerned, it may be employed either (1) as a synonym of *θεός*, distinguishable, if at all, as expressing the Divine power manifested in action rather than the Divine personality as an object of worship; or (2) in the abstract sense of *destiny*. Yet, although we may sometimes hesitate (as, e.g., in *Eur. Ion*, 1374, *Supp.* 592) between the abstract and the concrete meaning, with a view to the selection of an English equivalent, it is unlikely that to a Greek the word ever became so colourless as the tr. 'fate' or 'destiny' suggests. That this was the original sense, as has been suggested in recent times (Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol.* 991, n. 4; see, however, Usener, 292), is hardly credible.

We have seen that the belief in the separate existence of the soul after death leads to the assumptions that the souls of the dead are powerful over the living, and that other potencies of a similar character, spirit-like but not souls, exist independently and visit the earth. A further step is taken when these demons are regarded as capable of entering into and possessing human bodies (Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers* [Eng. tr. 1901], ch. i. §§ 5, 6). This may be illustrated by the various instances in which the human representative is permanently or temporarily identified with the Divine being whose power he assumes. Hermes became incarnate in the ministrants at the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea (*Pausan.* ix. 39. 7), Bacchus in the *mystæ* (schol.

on Aristoph. *Eg.* 408). Similar is the inspiration drawn from the chewing or eating of magic substances, such as the laurel leaves sacred to Apollo (Soph. frag. 811, etc.), or the honey which inspired the Thriæ on Parnassus (Hom. *h. Herm.* 560). These are special applications of the general belief in demonic possession, which is implicit in the use of the adjectives *εὐδαίμων*, *κακοδαίμων*, etc., and is expressed by that of the verbs *κακοδαίμονᾶν*, *δαίμονιζεσθαι* (Soph. frag. 173), and *δαίμονᾶν* (Eur. *Phæn.* 383, with the present writer's note). The demon which took possession of a man's body was sometimes conceived as a fiery spirit, which raised the blood to a condition of fever. Hence the fiery emblems of love (Gruppe, 849, n. 7), which permeates the frames of its victims with a feverish ecstasy. Hippocrates found it necessary to combat the superstition that epilepsy is due to some god—Poseidon, Apollo, Ares, or Hecate—having taken possession of the sick man (*Morb. sacr.* 592 K). Phædra's wasting sickness is attributed by the chorus in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides to possession by Pan, Hecate, the Corybantes, Cybele, or Dictynna (141-147); and the sudden illness of Glaucus, described in the *Medea*, was thought by those present to have been caused by the anger of Pan (1172). See also Usener, 294.

2. In the classical age.—The Olympian religion, if we may call by this name the impression which we receive from Greek literature about the ordinary beliefs of the classical age, is a composite structure, largely built up by the transference from past generations of elements on which time has worked an essential change. The demons passed into gods; the shadowy gods became definitely conceived personalities. A good illustration of this process may be taken from the development which can be traced in the notions entertained of the Nymphs (Gomperz, i. 26). The Oreads, Dryads, and Naiads owe their origin to the fetishism which believes that every natural object is endowed with a living spirit. In course of time the spirit is separated from its environment: the Dryad, for example, inhabits the oak, but the oak itself is no longer animate. But the indwelling spirit has not yet become immortal; the Dryad cannot outlive the oak (Hom. *h. Aphrod.* 257; Apoll. Rhod. ii. 481). A later stage has been reached when Homer describes how the Rivers and Nymphs were summoned by Zeus to join the conclave of the immortals (*Il.* xx. 7 ff.). We need not pause to illustrate the process by which a tribal deity has been elevated to national dignity, or a god with limited powers has merged his identity in the attributes of an Olympian. Other demons have taken subaltern rank in the celestial hierarchy, as when the Corybantes are classed as the attendants (*πρόπολοι*) of Rhea (Strabo, 472), and the Satyri attach themselves to Dionysus. *Eurynomus*, a grisly demon who ate the flesh of corpses, was painted by Polygnotus among the inhabitants of the lower world; he was blue-black in colour like a carrion-fly, his teeth were bared, and he was sitting on the skin of a vulture (Pausan. x. 28. 7). Dionysus was sometimes attended by *Akratos*, the potent spirit of the unmixed wine (Pausan. i. 2. 5); and Aphrodite by *Tychon*, perhaps the spirit of good luck, not unlike our Puck or Robin Goodfellow (Gruppe, 853, n. 2). Even the hell-hounds of Hecate are recognized as evil demons (Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* iv. 23. 7, 8).

It has recently been contended (Farnell, *CGS* v. [1909] 444) that the personification of abstract ideas as Divine beings claiming our veneration and worship is to be explained as due to the demonic power which was attributed by a primitive habit of mind to any outbreak of excessive emotion. Typical cases are quoted from the ceremonial observances paid in various parts of Greece to Shame, Pity, Laughter, Fear (Pausan. i. 17. 1; Plut. *Cleomen.* 9). If the suggestion is correct, it throws a remarkable light upon the development of Greek psychology. It is

easier to recognize primitive ideas in the deification of Madness (Pausan. vii. 34. 1) and Hunger (Plut. *Qu. Conv.* vi. 8. 1, p. 694 A). The Manie are supposed by Pausanias to be the Erinyes under another title, as producing frenzy in their victims. But Hunger is hardly to be explained as the concrete embodiment given to the sufferings of starvation. Rather we should infer that the failure of the crops through drought, and the wasting of the flocks and herds through disease, were taken as irrefragable testimony to the operation of a malignant and supernatural power. In order to avert such a calamity, an annual expulsion of a disease-laden scapegoat in the character of a slave, who was beaten with rods of willow to the words of the refrain, 'Out of doors with famine, and in-doors with plenty and health!' took place at the town of Chæroneia in Bœotia. Plutarch, in the passage quoted above, tells us that he had himself performed the ceremony when holding the office of chief magistrate. For its significance, see Frazer, *GB* 2, 1900, ii. 124 ff.

Again, as the crude fancies of primitive superstition ceased to correspond with advancing enlightenment, they tended to gather round them the details of legendary adventures, and to become associated, in the record of a mythical past, with particular localities or heroic names. The Sphinx, a ravening monster, compact of indigenous stories of a destructive dragon fused with Oriental or Egyptian elements, was localized in Bœotia and connected with the story of Œdipus. The Harpies or 'Snatchers' (Hom. *Od.* xiv. 371), another composite notion in the evolution of which wind-demons and death-angels had taken part, survived ultimately for their share in the punishment of Phineus, which was related as an incident in the voyage of the Argonauts. They are nearly related to the Erinyes and the Sirens—both chthonic agencies; but, whereas the belief in an avenging spirit punishing homicide survived longer, and has preserved the Erinyes in literature as a potent spiritual force, the Sirens soon passed into the region of fairy-land, and were remembered chiefly from Homer's description of them in the *Odyssey*. The Gorgons—also under-world powers and storm-spirits—are hardly known to tradition except through the adventures of Perseus.

Besides these, there was a whole host of sprites, bogeys, and hobgoblins which remained nearer to their primitive associations. Their names are generic rather than personal, and they were rarely dignified by a connexion with some heroic tale. Such was *Empusa*, a demonic apparition that appeared sometimes at mid-day and sometimes by night. She had the power of continually changing her shape, but could be detected, it would seem, by the donkey's leg which was her constant attribute (see Dem. xviii. 130; Aristoph. *Ran.* 289 ff.). *Gello*—a name which has been compared with the Arabic *ghoul*—was a spectre which kidnapped children. Almost unknown to literature, the name lasted through the Middle Ages, and survives in some localities down to the present day (Maas, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 1005). Somewhat more familiar to us is *Mormo*, a bogey of the nursery, invoked to frighten children (Theocr. xv. 40; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 4. 17)—perhaps a hypocoristic form of Mormolyke—a werewolf (*μορμολύκεα*, Plat. *Phædo*, 77 E, etc.). Another bogey-name is that of *Lamia*, who was said to have the remarkable power of taking out her eyes and putting them back at pleasure. She also was a kidnapper and murderess of children, and is sometimes identified with *Mormo* and *Gello*, as if these were different names of the same monster. But in *Lamia* there are more traces of a definite personality; and she has almost become a mythical heroine, as a Libyan queen beloved by Zeus, whose children were killed by Hera, and who in consequence revenged herself by killing other children (see Didymus *ap. schol. Aristoph. Pax*, 758). To the same class belonged *Acco* and *Alphito*—words of doubtful meaning which perhaps signify 'booby' and 'grey-head' (Chrysipp. *ap. Plut. de Stoic. rep.* 15, p. 1040 B). *Ephialtes* was the name given to the spectre in-

vented by the ignorant to account for the nightmare which results from indigestion; and he is not always distinguished from *Ephialtes*, the cold shivering-fit which preceded an attack of fever (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1037). *Ephialtes* was sometimes figured as the long-eared owl (*ōros*). Owls (*σφίγγες*) were regarded as birds of evil omen (*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*⁴, ed. Bergk, Leipzig, 1878-82, iii. 664), and as embodiments of the spirits of the dead which appear by night to suck the blood of the living—a superstition which survives in modern Greece.

For the conception denoted by *Keres*, which is closely allied to, and largely co-extensive with, the present subject, see the article under that title.

3. In the hands of the philosophers.—We have now to examine how the popular belief in demons was treated by the philosophical schools. Thales is credibly reported to have said (Arist. *de Anima*, i. 5. 411a 8) that all things are full of gods, and it is hardly to be doubted that in so maintaining he sought to explain Animistic beliefs by the application of rational principles. By the Pythagoreans a belief in demons was always fostered, especially in their character as representing the souls of the dead. They entertained no doubt that such demons were visible as if in actual bodily presence, and were surprised that any one should deny that he had ever seen a demon (Arist. frag. 193 [Rose]). All the air, they said, is full of souls, and these are called demons and heroes. It is they who send dreams and signs of disease and good health not only to men, but also to sheep and cattle. With them relations are established by purification and expiation, by divination and by omens (Diog. Laert. viii. 22). Hence Aristoxenus (Stob. *Flor.* 79. 45) is following Pythagoras when he recommends the worship of gods and demons, and the Golden Poem places the heroes and subterranean demons, i.e. the souls of the dead, after the gods, but as worthy of honour corresponding to their degree. Later doxographers (Aët. *Plac.* i. 8. 2) join Pythagoras with Thales, Plato, and the Stoics in holding that demons and heroes are spiritual substances, or souls separated from bodies, and that there are good and bad demons corresponding to the same varieties of soul. There is also attributed to Pythagoras the fantastic notion that the sound emitted from a brass gong when struck is the voice of a demon shut up within the metal (Porphyr. *Vit. Pyth.* 41). The popular idea of an indwelling demon, by which a man is possessed or controlled, was refined and interpreted by several philosophers. To Heraclitus (frag. 119 [Diels]) is ascribed the pregnant saying that 'character is each man's demon,' his inner self is his true divinity, and his fate is moulded by his own individuality. The same thought is expressed by Epicharmus in a simpler form: 'His disposition is to each man a good or bad demon' (frag. 258 [Kaibel]). Similar but less striking is the saying of Democritus that 'blessedness dwells not in herds or gold, but the soul is the dwelling-place of the blessed being' (frag. 171 [Diels]). Democritus (Sext. *adv. Math.* ix. 19) explained the belief in gods by degrading them to the level of demons, which he held to be material images perceptible to our senses, long-lived but not immortal. Empedocles speaks of the wanderings of wicked demons, which have been cast out of the abodes of the blest but return there after a banishment of 30,000 years, during which they pass through various stages of incarnation (frag. 115, 2). These *δαίμονες*, as Hippolytus explains, are human souls; but they are not necessarily separable entities, since the figurative language of the poem requires to be controlled by the materialism of the philosophical system which it expounds (see Burnet,

Early Greek Philosophy, 1892, p. 271; Rohde, ii. 178 ff.).

Socrates was in the habit of asserting that he was frequently impeded by a Divine sign from taking a particular course of action. This customary sign was imparted through the medium of a warning voice, and was manifested on trilling as well as on important occasions (Plat. *Apol.* 31 D, 40 A). The deduction that Socrates intended to imply that he was guided throughout his life by a familiar spirit, though at one time generally held, has in recent years fallen into disfavour (see Zeller, *Socrates* [Eng. tr. 1868], p. 82 ff.; H. Jackson, in *JPh* v. [1873] 232 ff.). But, whatever may have been the real intention of Socrates, it can hardly be denied that, in a society where the belief in the existence of demons was widely prevalent, to many of his hearers the Divine sign must have suggested such an agency.

Plato, in this sphere as elsewhere, has gathered up the threads of previous speculations and woven them into new combinations by the play of his philosophic fancy. In accordance with popular tradition, he says that the demons are the bastard sons of gods by nymphs or some other mothers (*Apol.* 27 D). The demons are of an airy substance, inferior to the heavenly ether, and serve as interpreters between gods and men (*Epinom.* 984 E). Love is a great demon; like all spirits, he is intermediate between the Divine and the mortal; he conveys to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men, and to men the commands and replies of the gods (*Symp.* 202 E). This recalls the Pythagorean doctrine previously quoted, and Proclus says it is also Orphic; modern critics have seen in it a mode of reconciliation between the old theology and the new conception of an inaccessible god (Gruppe, 1054). Plato accepts the popular view of demons, as identical with the souls of the dead: when a good man dies, he is honoured by being enrolled as a demon, which is only another form of *δαίμων*, 'the wise one' (*Cratyl.* 398 B). Every man has a distinct demon which attends him during life and after death (*Phaedo*, 107 D, *Rep.* 617 D). Each demon has his own allotted sphere of operation, and watches over his appointed charge like a shepherd over his flock (*Polit.* 271 D, 272 E). The last-quoted passages are drawn from the narratives of the myths with which Plato diversified his more formal arguments, and his true mind is to be sought rather in a passage of the *Timæus* (90 A) in which, with a reminiscence of Heraclitus, he declares that God has given to each man, as a guiding genius, the supreme form of soul within us, the rational faculty which dwells in the summit of our body and lifts us towards our celestial kindred.

Aristotle is reported to have assented to the belief that all men have demons which accompany them during the whole period of their mortal existence (frag. 193 [Rose]); but it is impossible to say whether he attached to it any philosophical importance. Xenocrates agreed with the statement in the *Timæus*, that the soul of man is his guardian spirit (Arist. *Top.* ii. 6. 112a, 37); and he also maintained the existence of a number of good and bad demons (Zeller, *Plato*, etc. [Eng. tr. 1876], p. 593). But the school which did most to establish a belief in demons as a part of the mental equipment of its students was unquestionably the Stoic. The Stoics sought with unwearied industry to bring every conception of popular religion into connexion with their own theology; and their doctrine of pantheism enabled them without difficulty to find a place for the demons within their system. They were firmly convinced of the existence of demons, which, having like passions with men, and responding to their desires and fears,

their pains and pleasures, superintended and directed their fortunes (Diog. Laert. vii. 151). These demons are composed of soul-substance, which is not scattered and lost, as Epicurus maintained (frags. 336, 337 [Usener]), at the dissolution of the body, but, having in itself the principle of permanence, is located in the region beneath the moon, and sustained, like the other stars, by the exhalations rising from the earth (Sext. adv. Math. ix. 71). Posidonius, who gave particular attention to the matter, explained that human souls after death are not sufficiently pure to reach the upper ether, and are restricted to the lower level, where they congregate among the demons. Hence it is that, with the strictest accuracy, the soul dwelling within the body may be described as the 'demon born with us' (Schmekel, *Philos. d. mittl. Stoa*, Berlin, 1892, p. 256). On the other hand, the Epicureans controverted these fairy-tales: there are no such beings as demons; and, even if there were, it is inconceivable that they would assume human shape, or that it would be possible for them to communicate with us by speech or otherwise (Plut. *Brut.* 37; see, further, Epicur. frags. 393, 394 [Usener]).

In writers of a later period, such as Maximus Tyrius, Apuleius, and Philostratus, the maxims of demonology have come to be commonplaces, partly owing to the influence of the sources which we have enumerated, and partly by the contact with Oriental civilizations, which had become continually more intimate since the beginning of the Hellenistic epoch (Rohde, ii. 364; Gruppe, 1468). Since the demons were regarded as unceasingly active in the service of the gods, they were assigned a definite place in the celestial hierarchy of the Neo-Platonists, as subordinate to angels and archangels (Porphy. *Ep. ad Arnob.* 10; demons were first associated with ἀγγελοι by Philo, according to Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 61). Hence, as part of the machinery by which the apologists of paganism sought to shore up their tottering edifice against the assaults of the Christians, they appear with considerable frequency in the controversial writings of the early Fathers of the Church.

It is not within the scope of this article to examine the various methods employed by Greek magic for the purpose of averting, deceiving, or conciliating evil spirits. The details will be found elsewhere under the titles CHARMS AND AMULETS, MAGIC, etc. It is only within recent years that the comparative study of anthropology has shown the way by which the future investigation of Greek religion must travel. But the evidence of ritual drawn from literary sources is difficult to appraise; partly because the development of theology tended to obscure the primitive elements, and partly because the ritual facts, even when separated from later accretions, are capable of various interpretations. It is well established that the beating of drums and cymbals, and particularly of various kinds of bronze vessels (schol. ad Theocr. ii. 36), was intended to frighten away any demons which might be at hand on important or ceremonial occasions; similarly, the use of iron was effective against demonic influence (Riess, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 50). When, however, the desire to be on good terms with evil demons is held to be the leading motive in such various rites as sword-dances, the ploughing with magic animals, the smearing of the face with chalk or meal, or the dressing of a boy in girl's clothes (cf. *CLE* vii. [1893] 243), it must be remembered that such hypotheses are far removed from certainty. The debatable evidence will be found collected in Gruppe, 894 ff.

For demons in relation to the Orphic cults, see ORPHISM.

LITERATURE.—The main facts are summarized in the articles, s.v. 'Dämon,' by von Sybel, in Roscher, i. 938, and by Waser, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2010, where references are given to the less accessible of the special treatises. See also R. Heinze, *Xenocrates*, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 78-123; J. Tambornino, *de Antiquorum Demonismo*, Giessen, 1909. Much useful information will be found in O. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906; J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to the Study of Gr. Religion*, Cambridge, 1909; A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Leipzig, 1893, esp. pp. 46-62; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, esp. p. 282 ff.; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Tübingen, 1907.

A. C. PEARSON.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Hebrew).—It will be most convenient to divide the material into three periods: pre-exilic, exilic and post-exilic, and Apocryphal.

1. **THE PRE-EXILIC PERIOD.**—r. In the early Heb. poems there is but one allusion to an angel, and none to spirits or demons. The 'holy ones' in Dt 33², later supposed to be angels (cf. Ac 7⁵³, Gal 3¹⁹, He 2²), were probably not a part of the original text (cf. Driver, *Deuteronomy*, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 392 ff.). In Jg 5²³ we read: 'Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of Jahweh.' Probably the angel was a manifestation of Jahweh, as in the J document.

2. Our next earliest evidence is in the J document. In Gn 3²⁴ cherubim are said to have been the guardians of Eden's entrance. There is reason to believe that these beings were personified winds. They find a counterpart in the winged figures of the Assyr. sculptures, which are often pictured in the act of fertilizing the sacred palm tree; hence Tylor suggested that they were winds—a view now accepted by many others.¹ The association of such figures with the tree of life would lead to the view that they were denizens of Paradise, and hence guardians of the tree of life. Apart from the cherubim, no other spirits appear in the early chapters of Genesis, but Jahweh Himself deals directly with men. This is the case in the Eden narrative (Gn 3), the Flood story (chs. 6-9), the confusion of tongues (ch. 11), and the story of Abraham (ch. 15). In the last-mentioned passage Jahweh appears as a flame of fire.

In Gn 16⁷ we first come upon the 'angel of Jahweh,' who found Hagar in the wilderness and aided her, but whom, as v. 13 shows, Hagar regarded as Jahweh Himself. The word here and elsewhere in the OT translated 'angel,' *mal'ak*, is from a root which appears in Arabic as *laka*, and in Ethiopic as *la'aka*, 'to go' or 'send as a messenger.' In this case *mal'ak Jahweh* means a special mission or coming of Jahweh to accomplish a special purpose. The 'angel' is not, accordingly, an angel in the later acceptance of the term.² The same is true of the following instances, which all appear in J, or in literature closely akin to it.

In Gn 18 the word 'angel' is not used, but Jahweh is said to have visited Abraham. The 'two angels' of ch. 19 are a later addition to the narrative, and, in the language of a later epoch, describe Jahweh's companions. In Gn 32^{24ff.} a 'man' comes and wrestles with Jacob; he is in reality Jahweh, though not formally declared by the text to be so. This 'man' represents a 'mission' or 'coming' of Jahweh, as did the 'angel of Jahweh' in ch. 16. It is probably this 'man' who is referred to in Gn 48¹⁶ as 'the aogel which hath redeemed me [Jacob].' In Ex 3² the 'angel of Jahweh' appeared to Moses in the burning bush, but it was Jahweh Himself who saw that Moses turned aside to see the bush (v. 4), and Jahweh who spoke to Moses (v. 7). Similarly, the 'angel of Jahweh' appeared in the way to stop Balaam (Nu 22²²⁻³⁵). In Jos 5¹³⁻¹⁵ a 'man' appeared to Joshua as the captain of the host of Jahweh; he was the same manifestation elsewhere called the 'angel of Jahweh.' In Jg 2¹ the 'angel' or 'manifestation' of Jahweh moved up from Gilgal to Bethel. The 'angel of Jahweh' appeared to Gideon (Jg 6¹¹), and it is clear from vv. 21-23 that He was Jahweh Himself. The same is true of the 'angel of Jahweh' who appeared to the wife of Manoah in Jg 13^{2ff.} In 2 S 24¹⁴ David falls into the hand of Jahweh, who turns out (v. 16) to be His angel.

In all these passages the 'angel of Jahweh' is

¹ Cf. Barton, *Sem. Or.*, London, 1902, p. 91, and the references there given; also Skinner, *Genesis*, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 89 ff.; for a divergent view, see art. *CHERUB*, vol. iii. p. 608 ff.

² Cf. W. E. Addis, *Documents of the Hezateuch*, London, 1892, i. 24, n. 1.

Jahweh Himself, who has come upon some special mission. Perhaps it was regarded as a kind of partial manifestation of Jahweh, but at all events there was no clear line of distinction between Jahweh and His angel. These manifestations of Jahweh were regarded as blessed or beautiful things, so that, when it was desired especially to praise a man, one said to him: 'Thou art good in my sight as an angel of God' (cf. 1 S 29⁹, 2 S 14¹⁷⁻²⁰ 19²⁷). At the same time, the term *mal'ak* was often used to designate the messenger of a king (see 1 S 11⁸ 16¹⁹ 19¹¹ 14²⁰, and cf. 1 K 20², Jer 27³).

In the J document other beings of the Divine order besides Jahweh are represented as real. These are called 'sons of God' (*bene hā-'elōhīm*) in Gn 6²⁻⁴, where they are said to have taken human wives and to have begotten the heroes who lived in olden days. These beings are not called angels, and do not appear again in pre-exilic literature.

3. In the E document the same conditions of thought prevail, though here angels appear at times in numbers.

In Gn 22¹ an angel called to Abraham out of heaven to prevent the sacrifice of Isaac. The present text calls him the 'angel of Jahweh,' but it is thought that in the original form of the text he was called the 'angel of God.' In Gn 28¹² Jacob saw the angels of God ascending and descending upon the ladder of his dream, but they were so closely associated with God that he said: 'This is none other than the house of God.' In Gn 31¹¹ the 'angel of God' appeared to Jacob in Aram, but v. 13 tells us that he said: 'I am the God of Bethel.' The angel was, then, only a manifestation of God. In Gn 32¹⁵ 'the angels of God' met Jacob, and he said: 'This is God's host.' Here apparently the angels were a manifestation of God and of His attendant company of spirits. In Ex 34⁶ it was God Himself who called to Moses out of the burning bush. In Ex 14¹⁹ the 'angel of God' who had gone before the camp of Israel removed and went behind. This angel performed the same function as the pillar of cloud in the J document (cf. Nu 20¹⁶). That the 'angel of God' was practically identical with God is shown in Ex 23^{20ff.}, where God declared that His 'name' was in the angel that should go before Israel.

There is, then, no radical difference of conception between J and E. In both of them the angel of the Deity is usually a manifestation of Deity Himself, though in one instance (Gn 32¹⁵) the angels are apparently the spirits who accompany God. In Jg 9²³ (a passage which G. F. Moore [*SBOT*, New York, 1898] attributes to E), God is said to have sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem; and similarly in 1 S 16¹⁴⁻¹⁶, 23 18¹⁰ (a passage which Budde attributes to J) an evil spirit from God is said to have come upon Saul.

4. This last conception is similar to that in 1 K 22¹⁹⁻²³, where Jahweh is thought of as surrounded by a host of spirits. These spirits were as yet undifferentiated. They had no moral character; they were neither angels nor demons, but took on their character from the nature of the tasks which they were given to perform. Jahweh Himself was responsible for whatever was done; He lured Ahab to his death; it was at His bidding that one of the spirits became a lying spirit in the mouths of Ahab's prophets to accomplish this end. The spirits of Jahweh's court were not the only spirits in which the Hebrews of the period believed. In 2 K 2²² and 6¹⁷ reference is made to a kind of horsemen of the air, who seem to have been regarded as spirit defenders of Israel, for one passage relates that, when the chariot of fire took Elijah away, Elisha exclaimed: 'The chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof!' and the other represents these horsemen as the defenders of Elisha from a foreign army.

5. There are few other references to angels or spirits before the Exile. An early Ephraimite narrative (1 K 19⁵) tells us that an angel touched Elijah and awakened him. One late prophetic narrative tells us twice that an angel of Jahweh spoke to Elijah (2 K 13¹⁵), while another, also late (1 K 13¹⁸), tells that an angel spoke to another prophet. In 2 K 19³⁵=Is 37³⁶ we are told

that an angel of Jahweh smote the Assyrians of Sennacherib's army. Pre-exilic prophets make almost no reference to angels, although Hosea (12⁴) declares that Jacob 'had power over the angel.' This is a reference to the 'man' of Gn 32^{24ff.}, and is the only occurrence of 'angel' in a pre-exilic prophet. The Deuteronomist makes no mention of angels. One Deut. editor refers to the 'angel of Jahweh' (Ex 33²), but he was influenced by E.

6. One other class of supernatural beings of the time before the Exile remains to be considered, viz. the seraphim. Our knowledge of them is gained from one passage only, Is 6¹⁻⁷. In his vision, Isaiah saw Jahweh, above whom the seraphim were standing. Each one had six wings, and they constantly uttered the trisagion. At the sound of their voices 'the foundations of the threshold were moved.' Finally, it was one of these who took from the altar a live coal and touched the prophet's lips. It is clear that, like the cherubim, the seraphim were not angels (i.e. messengers), but were attendants of Jahweh. Like the cherubim, they are composite figures, and later Jewish thought placed them with the cherubim in Paradise (cf. En. 61¹⁰ 71⁷, Slav. En. 20¹ 21¹).

Various explanations of the name and nature of the seraphim have been offered. (1) An old explanation, now generally abandoned, derived *seraph* from the Arab. *šarīfa*, 'to be eminent in glory,' and held the seraphim to be a kind of archangels. (2) Delitzsch and Hommel have connected it with the Assy. *šarrapu*, the 'burner,' an epithet applied to the Bab. god Nergal, a sun-deity; but, although an old syllabary says that this was the epithet of Nergal in the 'Westland,' no such deity has appeared in any real Canaanite source, and is consequently improbable. (3) Cheyne (*EBI*, art. 'Demons') has, under the influence of the previous suggestion, attempted to connect the name of the god *Rešef*, whose name occurs in a Phoen. inscription (*CISi*. 35). This he equates with *serāph*, supposing that a transposition of letters occurred—a solution which seems even more improbable. (4) Less satisfactory still was Hitzig's suggestion that *šarāph* is to be connected with the Egyptian Serapis. (5) More recently Marti and others have connected the seraphim with the Egyptian griffins found, for example, in a XIIth dynasty tomb at Beni Hassan. These griffins were winged, were guardians of the grave, and in demotic were called *serep* (cf. R. Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, Berlin, 1889, p. 177 ff.). (6) Probably the true explanation connects the seraphim with the fiery (*šarāphim*) serpents of Nu 21⁶, and supposes that the seraphim were primarily serpents. This view is supported by the fact that Heb. tradition gave the serpent a prominent rôle in Paradise (cf. Gn 3), that they worshipped a serpent-god down to the time of Hezekiah (2 K 18^{4ff.}), that there was at Jerusalem a well called the 'Dragon's fountain' (Neh 2¹³; probably the modern Bir Eyyub), that a brazen serpent was found at Gezer in the pre-exilic Hebrew stratum (R. A. S. Macalister, *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*, London, 1906, p. 76), and that in En. 20⁷ serpents (Gr. *drákones*) are associated with the cherubim in Paradise, as in the Enoch passages cited above seraphim are associated with the cherubim. In course of time these serpents of Paradise were regarded as the attendants or guards of Jahweh, and were given wings, etc. to make them composite.

In pre-exilic Hebrew thought, then, Jahweh had three classes of attendants—cherubim, spirits, and seraphim. The cherubim and seraphim were guardians of Paradise and attendants of Jahweh. The spirits were His courtiers, and might be sent on missions by Him. They played, however, a very small part. Jahweh Himself was thought to appear in special manifestations to accomplish His purposes. Such manifestations were called the 'angel of Jahweh,' or the 'angel of God.'

7. Of demons in this period there are but slight traces. In the old poem which now forms Dt 33 it is said in v. 13 that the 'deep' (*t'hôm*) 'coucheth' (*rôbešeth*) beneath. Driver has noted (*Deut.* p. 406) that *rôbešeth* is ordinarily used of an animal; and, when one recalls that under the kindred name *Tiamat* the deep was personified in Babylonia as a dragon, and that this dragon appears in post-exilic Heb. literature as Rahab and Leviathan (see below), it becomes probable that Dt 33¹³ personified the subterranean abyss as a great dragon or demon. In Dt 32¹⁷ Hebrews are said to have sacrificed to *shēdim*, not to 'Eloah (God). *Shēdim* was understood by the translators of the Septuagint as

demons, but, as it is made parallel with 'foreign gods' (cf. v. 16), and is the equivalent of the Assyrian *šēdu*, or bull-deity, it is probable that it is used here as the name of a foreign deity. The fact that the root *šēd* became in later Judaism the general term for 'demon' (cf. Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targ., Talmud, and Mid.*, New York, 1903, p. 1558a) does not prove this inference wrong. If this view is correct, it makes no difference to our subject whether we date Dt 32, with Ewald and Dillmann, in the reign of Jeroboam II.; with Kuenen and Driver, about 630 B.C.; or, with Steuernagel, in the Exile.

There are no clear references in pre-exilic literature to other demons, but it is probable that the Hebrews of the period believed that demons inhabited waste places, and that they endeavoured to propitiate them. The sacrifice to the wilderness demon Azazel (*q.v.*) (Lv 16) is clearly a survival from pre-exilic days, and it is probable that Lilith (Is 34¹⁴) was an old wilderness demon.

II. EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC CANONICAL MATERIAL.—I. In *Ezekiel* the term 'angel' does not occur, though in 9^{2a. 5a.} and in 40^{3a.} a supernatural man appears who performs the functions of an angel. In the former passage he directs the marking of idolaters for destruction; in the latter he measures off the dimensions of the new sanctuary. The older belief in spirits survives to some extent in *Ezekiel*. In 2² 3^{12. 14} 8^{1a.} a 'spirit' is said to have come upon Ezekiel and filled him with ecstatic inspiration. This spirit was one of the members of Jahweh's court, of which 1 K 22 gives such a vivid description (cf. Toy, *SBOT*, New York, 1899). This usage of 'spirit' is found only in the earlier chapters of *Ezekiel*, and in 8^{1a.} is made synonymous with 'the hand of Jahweh.' In 11^{5a.} the term 'spirit' occurs, but it here approaches more nearly the spirit of Jahweh, and does not seem to denote a separate entity of a lower order. It inspires the prophet to reflexion rather than ecstasy. In other parts of *Ezekiel* 'spirits' do not occur.

2. In *Deutero-Isaiah* angels are not mentioned, and in *Trito-Isaiah* only one reference to an angel or spirit is found, viz. 'the angel of his [Jahweh's] presence' [Heb. 'face'], Is 63⁹. The expression occurs in a poetic reference to the angel mentioned in Ex 23²¹, of whom it was said, 'My name is in him.' The term 'presence' or 'face' seems to be borrowed from Ex 33^{12a.}, where Jahweh says to Moses: 'My presence shall go with thee.' The reference in *Isaiah* really betokens a post-exilic literary survival of a pre-exilic idea.

3. In *Zechariah* the 'angel' in the function of messenger appears as a fixed idea. The angel talked with the prophet, and in this way *Zechariah* received all his prophetic messages (cf. Zec 1^{9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 19} 5^{5. 10} 6^{4. 5}). The angel is here clearly an intermediary between God and man. *Zechariah* never is said to have seen God. In *Zechariah*, too, we meet for the first time with the division of angels into ranks. In 2²⁻⁴ one angel is clearly the commander of another, and sends him on a mission. The 'angel of Jahweh' appears here also as a kind of guardian of Israel, since he protects the priest, the representative of the nation. In 1^{1a.} and 4^{1a.} the angel of Jahweh appears as a kind of Grand Vizier among the other angels. Possibly this early differentiation of angels into ranks was due to Persian influence, though this seems improbable, for, when this prophecy was written, only twenty years had elapsed since Cyrus's conquest of Babylonia and Palestine.

4. In the Book of *Job* we have different strata. The prologue is older than the poem, and may have been composed before the Exile. In it Jahweh is represented as surrounded by a court of

supernatural beings. These are called *bēnē hā-'elōhīm*, or beings of the Divine order—the old name employed in Gn 6²⁻⁴. These beings are pictured as free to walk through the earth wherever they will, but upon appointed days they gather to pay their court to Jahweh. Satan is still a member of this group, though he has become offended and has lost his faith in the existence of disinterested virtue. He is permitted to go forth upon a mission of experimentation—a mission which proves most painful to his victim. The whole conception is quite akin to that of 1 K 22. In the poem, which is later than the prologue, little is said of angels, though that little is of interest. In 5¹ the possibility of angelic intercessors is referred to. The angelic beings are here called 'holy ones.' In 4¹⁶ and 15¹⁶ these 'holy ones' are said to be less pure than God, but much holier than men. The 'angel' of 33²³ (RV) is better rendered, with the margin, 'messenger,' since Elihu is referring to himself and not to a heavenly messenger (cf. Barton, *Com. on Job*, N.Y., 1911). In 38⁷ the 'sons of God' of the prologue are referred to, and are identified with the morning stars.

5. In the *Psalter*, angels are messengers of either good or evil. Ps 34⁷ declares: 'The angel of Jahweh encampeth round about them that fear him,' i.e. he is their protection. Ps 35⁶ declares that God lets His angel chase and persecute the wicked. Similarly, Ps 78⁴⁰ declares that God cast upon the Egyptians 'the fierceness of his anger, wrath, indignation, and trouble, a band of evil angels.' Here the angels are personifications of the wrath and indignation of Jahweh. Ps 104⁴ reverses in a way the process, declaring: 'He makes his angels winds.' The angels as guardians are again referred to in Ps 91^{11a.}: 'He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee. They shall bear thee up in their hands.' Ps 103²⁰ and 148² call upon angels as well as men to praise God. Ps 89^{6. 7} implies that God is surrounded in heaven by a council of angels. This is also implied in Ps 103^{20. 21} and 148², where the angels are spoken of as the 'ministers who do God's pleasure,' and as 'his host.' In Ps 8⁵, where the present text, in speaking of man, reads: 'Thou hast made him little less than God' (*'elōhīm*), the reference is probably to angels, and the original text was, perhaps, 'sons of God' (*bēnē hā-'elōhīm*).

6. The *Priestly document* contains no reference to angels. It conceives of God as far away, but also as so powerful that He can simply speak and His word is obeyed. It represents Him in *Leviticus* as speaking to Moses, but how He spoke it never tells. It gives no hint that it was through angels.

7. The same is true of the Books of *Chronicles*, which are closely dependent upon P for their point of view. The Chronicler mentions angels in two passages only, 1 Ch 21 and 2 Ch 32²¹. The former passage is dependent on 2 S 24, and has taken over the angel who inflicted the punishment for David's census (see vv. 9. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15); the latter is dependent upon 2 K 19³⁵, and has taken over the story of the angel who destroyed Sennacherib's army.

8. Angels do not really appear in the Book of *Ecclesiastes*. The word 'angel' is found, it is true, in 5⁸ (Heb. 5⁵), but it is probably a reverent way of referring to God Himself (cf. Barton, *Ecclesiastes*, in *ICC*, 1908). The Chronicler had set the example for this procedure by making the angel who afflicted Israel stand for God (cf. 1 Ch 21^{16. 20}).

9. In the Book of *Daniel* the belief in angels re-appears, and they are thought to be exalted far above man (see 3¹⁶⁻¹⁸ 10¹⁶). In 3²⁵ an angel comes in human form to deliver the three children from the fiery furnace (cf. v. 28), and in 6²² God's angel

is said to have stopped the mouths of the lions. The conception of the division of angels into ranks, which was found in Zechariah, re-appears in an accentuated form in Daniel. Each nation apparently has a 'prince' or archangel detailed to look after its interests, so that there is a 'prince of the kingdom of Persia' (10¹²⁻²⁰), a 'prince of Greece' (10²⁰), and a 'prince of Israel' (10²¹). The last mentioned is Michael, who was 'one of the chief princes' (10¹³ 12¹). Possibly this conception is also found in Is 33^{21a}, which dates from about 335-333 B.C. In Daniel, too, we come upon a new feature found in no other canonical book of the period: the angels, or at least the archangels, begin to have names. In addition to Michael, already mentioned, 'the man Gabriel' (Gabriel means 'hero or man of God') appeared to impart wisdom to Daniel (8^{16a}. 9^{21a}). The giving of definite proper names to angels—a feature very common in some of the apocryphal books—marks another step forward in the evolution of the conception.

10. Taking the post-exilic time as a whole, some interesting general facts with reference to angels may be gathered. They are called by a variety of names: 'sons of God,' i.e. of *elôhîm* (Job 1⁶ 2¹, Dn 3²⁵); *elôhîm*, i.e. 'gods' (Ps 8⁶ and perhaps 97⁹), 'sons of the mighty,' i.e. of *êlîm*, lit. 'gods' (Ps 29¹ 89⁹); *êlîm*, or 'gods' (Ex 15¹¹); *gîbbôrîm*, or 'heroes' (Jl 3 [4]¹¹); *shôm'rîm*, or 'keepers' (Is 62⁹); 'host of the height' (Is 24²¹); 'morning stars' (Job 38⁷); *îrîm*, i.e. 'watchers' (Dn 4¹⁷ [14]); 'holy ones' Zec 14⁵, Ps 89⁷), and 'princes' (Dn 10¹³. 20. 21). Although angels are once identified with stars (Job 38⁷), there is no attempt in the canonical books, such as appears in some of the apocryphal books, to define the nature of angels or to tell the substance of which they are composed. The term 'host of the height' applied to them in Is 24²¹ is, no doubt, a modification of the pre-exilic phrase 'host of heaven,' which was applied to the stars. During the last years of the Judæan monarchy those had been worshipped (see Jer 8², Zeph 1⁵, Dt 4¹⁹); they were then considered as gods, and the prophets opposed their worship. As the close of the Exile drew near, Jahweh was declared to be supreme over them (Is 45¹²; cf. 40²⁶), and in Neh 9⁶ they are said to worship Jahweh. Apparently it was believed that this host was not subdued to the position of subordinates and worshippers without a struggle (see Job 25², Is 24²¹ 27¹ 34⁵), and the reference in 27¹ to Leviathan, which, as shown below, is a name for the Bab. dragon Tiamât, suggests that the idea of a struggle was borrowed from the Babylonian Creation Epic.

It has been held by some that the division of angels into ranks and the belief in archangels point to the fact that the angels originated in the subjugation of other gods to Jahweh. The argument in favour of this view is strong. It would seem improbable that the development of archangels was due in the first place to Persian influence, for they appear already in Zechariah, when Persian influence was too new. The fact that in Daniel the different archangels are each the prince or guardian of a special nation is in favour of the origin suggested, for it assigns to them just the rôle that the national gods of the heathen world had performed.

The functions of angels were various. They acted as Jahweh's court (Job 1. 2) and as His council (Ps 89⁷); they might be intercessors for men (Job 5¹), or guardians of the righteous (Ps. 34⁷), whom they bear up in their hands (Ps 91^{11a}, Nu 20¹⁶ [P]); they are the guides and channels of Divine revelation to prophets (Zec 1⁹. 11. 12. 13. 14. 19 etc., Dn 8^{16a}. 10^{9-11a}); they inflict punishment on the wicked (Ps 78⁴⁹); some of them guard the nations (Dn 10²⁰. 21); and in general they do whatever Jahweh wishes to have done.

Angels during this period were for the most part without names. There are only three exceptions

to this: the 'angel of his presence' (Is 63⁹), which, as pointed out above, is a poetic way of referring to a pre-exilic idea; and the individual angels Michael and Gabriel. These last appear in Daniel only, the latest book of the canon to contain any reference to angels. They are canonical examples of a tendency which is abundantly illustrated in the apocryphal literature to individualize angels and to attribute permanent characteristics to them. The name *Michael*, meaning 'Who is like God?', was a natural one to apply to an angel, though it had previously been borne by a number of men (see Nu 13¹³, 1 Ch 5¹³. 14 6⁴⁰ 7³ 8¹⁶ 12²⁰ 27¹³, 2 Ch 21², and Ezr 8⁹). *Gabriel*, as already noted, signifies 'man of God,' and was also a natural name to give an angel.

11. The Hebrew belief in demons belongs especially to the time after the Exile. There were several causes which led to this belief. In pre-exilic times, it had been thought that Jahweh did everything, both good and bad. Amos says (3⁹). 'Shall evil befall a city and Jahweh hath not done it?' This evil might be accomplished through the agency of non-ethical spirits, as in 1 K 22¹⁹⁻²³, but Jahweh was in reality responsible for it. As in the case of the spirit that visited Saul, it might be called an 'evil spirit' (1 S 16^{14a}); but this only signified that its effects were undesirable, not that the spirit was morally bad. The spirit in this case came from Jahweh, and He was really responsible. This view was entertained by one writer until near the close of the Exile, for Deutero-Isaiah represents Jahweh as saying: 'I make peace, and create evil' (Is 45⁷). In the time after the Exile, men began to feel that to attribute evil to God was to think unworthily of Him; hence the occurrence of evil was ascribed to the agency of demons. This was, however, only one of the forces at work. With the triumph of monotheism the belief in the reality of the heathen deities did not altogether disappear, and those gods whose worshippers had been hostile to Israel, or had opposed the prophets so as to be denounced in the sacred books, were reduced to the rank of demons. From time immemorial, too, the belief had existed that dark and deserted localities were inhabited by unfriendly spirits. From the earliest times, pains had been taken to propitiate some of these by sacrifices, and such unfriendly spirits now became demons in the commonly accepted view. Then, too, the old mythology had preserved the memory of a heavenly court of spirits, or *b'ne ha'-elôhîm*. It kept alive the memory of how some of these spirits had been commissioned in the olden time to bring men to destruction, and from this circle of ideas there was born a belief in an arch-enemy of good—Satan—who has since held a large place in the world's thought. Some of these demons were believed to inhabit the deserts and to roam about at night (cf. Is 13²¹ 34¹⁴). Like the *jinn* of the Arabs, they were supposed to take on the forms of wild animals. Some of them still maintained the quasi-Divine character which they had possessed before the Exile, and sacrifices were still offered to them. Once it is implied that the home of the arch-demon is in Sheol (cf. Job 18¹⁴).

Of individual demons, the one that played the largest part in later thought is *Satan*, though he appears in but three passages of the OT. (a) The earliest of these is the prologue of Job, which may be pre-exilic. Here Satan is one of the 'sons of God,' or 'spirits,' who compose the court of Jahweh. Much of the character of the un-ethical spirit which was sent on a mission of evil to men still attaches to him, but he has developed beyond this, for he has become permanently sceptical of disinterested virtue. He can do nothing without

Jahweh's permission, but his state of mind is thought to be a cause of regret to Jahweh. In consequence of Jahweh's concern for Satan and His desire to win him once more to a proper attitude, He permits him to make investigations in disinterested virtue by bringing evil upon Job. In this narrative Jahweh is represented as ultimately responsible for the evil, but it is permitted for a good end—the scattering of the doubts which had invaded the angelic circle and embittered one of the courtiers of heaven.

(b) In Zec 3¹ Satan appears to oppose the high priest Joshua before the 'angel of Jahweh.' The 'Adversary' (for such is the meaning of the name *Satan*) stands in the court of Jahweh as a public prosecutor, and, as Joshua is the representative of the nation, so Satan is the adversary or prosecutor of the nation. The fact that the angel of Jahweh rebukes him shows that Satan has undertaken his evil opposition to the people of God on his own initiative and not by Divine permission, as was the case in the Book of Job. His malignity is accordingly somewhat more developed, and in the circle of ideas represented by this passage Satan really relieves Jahweh of the responsibility for evil.

(c) The only other OT passage where Satan is mentioned is 1 Ch 21¹, which is a further witness to the fact that Satan was now held to be responsible for the existence of evil. The chapter gives an account of David's census and of the punishment for it, and is dependent on 2 S 24; but, whereas it is said in Samuel that Jahweh said to David, 'Go, number Israel,' because He was angry with the people, it is said in Chronicles that Satan 'moved David to number Israel.' Satan is clearly a development out of the group of spirits which were in earlier days thought to form Jahweh's court, members of which were sent upon errands of disaster to men.

Another demon who appears in one post-exilic canonical passage (Lv 16) is *Azazel* (q.v.). In the ritual of the Day of Atonement it is prescribed that a goat shall be chosen 'for Azazel,' that the sins of the people shall be confessed over him, and that then he shall be sent into the wilderness by a special messenger and turned loose (cf. Lv 16^{8, 10, 28}). The goat is in reality a sacrifice to Azazel. The ritual of this chapter is clearly a survival from pre-exilic days. It is also clear that Azazel was a wilderness demon, and probably the sacrifice was originally offered to him to propitiate him. It is, accordingly, a survival from a kind of worship of fear. The name '*Azā'zēl*' signifies 'entire removal.'

Another class of demons were *se'irim*, lit. 'hairy ones' (RV 'satyrs'; marg. 'he-goats'), who, like Azazel, were thought to inhabit wastes and ruins. Is 34¹⁴, in a picture of the future desolation of Edom, says that 'satyr shall call to his fellow there'; and Is 13²¹, an exilic passage, in portraying the desolation of Babylon, declares that 'satyrs shall dance there.' Just as the Arabs degraded the gods of the heathen to *jinn* and attributed to them some of the hairy characteristics of animals, so these satyrs appear to have been originally heathen deities (cf. W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*² 120 ff.). It is for this reason that Lv 17⁷ prohibits, for the future, sacrifice to satyrs, implying in the statement that they had been the recipients of sacrifices in the past. Similarly 2 Ch 11¹⁸, in reproducing 1 K 12³¹—the statement concerning Jeroboam's arrangements of priests for the high places—amplifies it by saying that he appointed 'priests for the satyrs and calves which he had made.'

The *shedim* which are mentioned in Dt 32¹⁷ are once referred to in a post-exilic canonical writing, Ps 106²⁷, where *shedim* is a synonym for demons.

The word really, as the parallelism shows, refers to the heathen deities of the Canaanites, whom some of the post-exilic writers made satyrs, as just noted. That it was the intention of the Psalmist to call them demons here is confirmed by the fact that in the Mishna and Talmud *shed* is the root used to designate demons in general (cf. Jastrow, *Dict.* p. 1558a).

Is 34¹⁴ mentions Lilit (RV 'night-monster') in connexion with satyrs. It is probable that the name is connected with the Heb. root for 'night,' and that Lilit was a night-monster or demon which was thought to lurk in desolate places.

The 'horse-leech' (*'alūqā*) of Pr 30¹⁵ was perhaps a demon. While there was a large leech to which the name was applied, it was also regarded by the Jews of later time as the name of a demon. This seems to be the case in the Targ. to Ps 12², which says: 'The wicked go round in circles like *'alūqā*, who suck the blood of men.'

In Ca 27³⁰ the Shunammite adjures the daughters of Jerusalem 'by the roes and hinds of the field.' These are here probably not simple animals, but faun-like spirits by whom, as by other supernatural beings, adjurations could be made.

In four passages (all exilic or post-exilic) a great demon or dragon called Rahab appears. She was surrounded by a host of helpers, but after a severe struggle she and her helpers were overcome by Jahweh. The passages are: Is 51⁹ 'Art not thou he who hewed Rahab in pieces, who pierced through the dragon?'; Job 9¹³ 'The helpers of Rahab do stoop under him; how much less shall I answer him?'; Job 26^{12, 13} 'He quelled the sea with his power, by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab; by his breath the heavens are bright,' etc.; Ps 89¹⁰ 'Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces as one that is slain; thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of thy strength.' It has long been recognized (see the writer's art. 'Tiamat' in *JAOS* xv. [1890]) that Rahab in those passages is simply another name for the Bab. primeval sea-monster Tiamat. She is, accordingly, here not a native Heb. demon. For the original picture of her and her helpers, see L. W. King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, London, 1902, Tablets ii. and iv. Although Rahab is not native to Heb. soil, she plays a considerable part in post-exilic thought. Jahweh was naturally substituted for Marduk in the story circulated among the Hebrews, and His worshippers magnified His power as they thought of the might of this terrible dragon of a demon.

In at least two passages this primitive Bab. monster was known among the Hebrews as Leviathan. In Job 3⁸ Leviathan is evidently a mythical dragon capable of darkening the day, while in Ps 74¹⁴ we read, 'Thou brakest the heads of Leviathan in pieces,' and vv. 13, 17 go on to speak of the creation of the sun, the fixing of earth's bounds, and the making of summer and winter. In the psalm, therefore, we clearly have a reference to the Bab. Creation Epic, and it is probable that the passage from Job refers to the same monster. In Job 41 the crocodile is described under the name Leviathan, but in vv. 13-21 the description of the natural animal is mingled with elements drawn from a mythical fire-breathing dragon. It is probable, therefore, that Leviathan, like Rahab, was the Bab. Tiamat under another name.

III. IN APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE.—While but few individual demons can be traced in the canonical literature, the apocryphal writings bear witness to the fact that the popular thought abounded with them. In the Apocalyptic writings of the Jews, composed prior to A.D. 100, all the main features of belief in spirits, angels, and

demons which appear in the canonical literature were continued and heightened. There is, however, a great difference between them in this respect. Some of them, like Sirach and Maccabees, make almost no reference to angels. Sirach mentions only the angel that destroyed the Assyrian army (48²¹), the writer of 1 Mac mentions angels only in referring to this event (7⁴¹), while the author of 2 Mac refers to them only in saying that the Jews of the Maccabean time prayed that an angel might be sent to smite the Greeks, as one was sent to smite the Assyrians (cf. 11⁶ 15^{22a}). Similarly, the Wisdom of Solomon makes no reference to angels except that in describing the Exodus it declares that the word of God was an active angel of vengeance (cf. Wis 18¹⁵). In some of the Enoch apocalypses, on the other hand, belief in angelic and demoniacal agency is carried to great length. This is especially true of the oldest Enoch apocalypse (Eth. En. 1-36), of the Parables (Eth. En. 37-71), and of the Slavonic Enoch. Other works make a more moderate use of this belief, although it clearly underlies all their thinking. This is true of Tobit, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Greek additions to Daniel, 2 Esdras, and the Book of Jubilees. The beliefs continued and were in some respects intensified, but, in proportion as the writers came under the sway of Greek rationalistic thought, they ceased to feel the need for such supernatural agencies. The author of Jubilees, in re-telling the story of Genesis, employs angels only where they appear in that book.

1. In certain writers the old tendency to attribute a spirit to everything still manifests itself. The author of the Enoch Parables speaks of a spirit of the sea, of hoar-frost, of hail, of snow, of fog, of dew, and of rain (Eth. En. 60¹⁷⁻²¹), while his favourite title for God is 'Lord of spirits' (33²⁻⁴ 39¹² and *passim*). The author of Jubilees speaks of the spirits of fire, wind, darkness, hail, snow, frost, thunder, cold and heat, winter and summer (Jub 2¹), but he calls them angels at the same time, and he also terms the 'watchers' (an older name for angels) the 'fathers of spirits' (10⁶). These two agree in making spirits of the phenomena of Nature. In a different vein from those, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs make spirits of man's immoral tendencies. Those spirits are in reality demons, and are under the direction of Beliar, the prince of demons (see art. BELIAL). Thus, we are told that there are seven spirits of deceit (Reuben 2¹). These seven are said to be the spirit of fornication, of insatiableness (resident in the belly), of fighting (resident in the liver and gall), of obsequiousness and chicanery, of pride, of lying and fraud, and of injustice with which are thefts and acts of rapacity (cf. Reuben 3³⁻⁶, Simeon 6⁷, Judah 20¹, Dan 5⁴, Gad 4⁷). Later additions make the senses and sleep spirits of wickedness (Reuben 2³ 3¹). The function of these spirits was to lead men into various sins, and, after having done so, to take vengeance on them (Levi 3²). The evil spirit which a man had served was said to await his soul as it left his body at death in order to torment it (Asher 6⁹). In most of the Apocryphal books the spirits have passed over either into angels or into demons.

2. Through literary influence there is a slight survival of the Cherubim and Seraphim of an earlier time. They, together with the Ophanim (serpent-beings developed out of the original Seraphim), are said to be holy angels who praise God (Eth. En. 61¹⁰ 71⁷, Slav. En. 20¹ 21¹); but these beings play no important part in the thought of the period.

3. It is far otherwise with the angels, who are

declared to be innumerable (Apoc. Bar. 59¹¹). This clearly represents the view of several of these writers. Thus the author of the Enoch Parables declares that the Most High is accompanied by 1000×1000 and 10000×10000 angels (Eth. En. 60¹ 71¹⁹). Angels were thought to be the agency by which everything was performed. Thus, it is said that myriads of angels accompany the sun on his course (Slav. En. 11⁴⁻²⁴), and that 400 take the sun's crown to God at sunset, and return it to the sun in the morning (14²⁻³). How vast must have been, then, the number of all the angels!

These numerous angelic hosts were believed to be divided into ranks. Distinguished from the common mass, the archangels commanded and directed others. This division appears most clearly in the evil angels or demons, a long list of whose leaders is given in the earliest Enoch apocalypse and in the Enoch parables (cf. Eth. En. 6⁷ and 69²). This list will be further considered in discussing demons below. The good angels had similar chieftains, of whom Gabriel was one (Slav. En. 21³). But, apart from the archangels, the angelic hosts were thought to be divided into several ranks. It is said in Slav. En. 20³ that, as the Lord sat on His throne, the heavenly hosts stood on the ten steps of it according to their rank. This implies that there were numerous gradations of rank. Four angels were called 'angels of the throne.' They were Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael (Eth. En. 9¹ 40² and *Sib. Or.* ii. 215), though two passages (40⁹ 71⁹) substitute Phanuel (*i.e.* Penue) for Uriel. Just as human hosts had human commanders, so the archangels were the commanders of the others. Thus in the Testament of Levi 3⁶⁶, the angel of the Presence is counted an archangel, to whom angels below make an announcement of what is transpiring. This development of the angelic hosts into ranks was to some extent reflected in the canonical literature, and its later development may have been influenced by contact with Persian thought.

As to the nature of angels, the conception was not uniform. At first they were considered a kind of supernatural men; thus, in all the books that speak of them, they are frequently called 'men' (see, *e.g.*, Slav. En. 1-7). They are, like men, said to possess bodies and spirits (Eth. En. 67⁸). They intermarried at one time with human women (Eth. En. 7¹, Slav. En. 18⁴). Enoch after translation became an angel (Slav. En. 22), showing that they were considered in many ways kindred to men. This view is a survival of the old conception reflected in Gn 6²⁻⁴. Gradually another view developed, according to which the constitution of angels was quite different from that of men. They are, accordingly, said to have a nature like that of fire (Slav. En. 29¹⁻³), and to have been made at the beginning of flame and fire (Apoc. Bar. 21⁶); their splendour is said to be equal to that of the stars (51⁹). This view was, in some cases where tradition perpetuated the crasser view, blended with the other. Thus Enoch was thought to have been put through a process of purification and glorification before he became an angel (Slav. En. 22); and later, when he was permitted to return to the earth for thirty days, an angel chilled his face, apparently to dim the lustre of its angelic glory, before he descended to mingle with men (cf. Slav. En. 36² 37¹ 38¹). The forces of Nature were at times regarded as angels. Thus frost, hail, and fog are so designated in Eth. En. 60¹⁷⁻¹⁹, and the author of Jubilees calls these and similar forces of Nature indifferently 'spirits' and 'angels' (Jub. 2¹). At the same time angels were thought to have definite limitations. They were not able to hinder the work of God (Eth. En. 41⁹); they were ignorant of their own origin (Slav. En. 24³); fallen angels could not see the glory of God

(Eth. En. 14²¹, Slav. En. 24³), and Enoch, a man, interceded for them (Eth. En. 15²).

The whole course of Nature was thought to be carried on by angelic agency. Myriads of angels attend the sun (Slav. En. 14), they regulate the courses of the stars (ch. 19), they guard the habitations of snow (ch. 5), and keep the treasures of oil (ch. 6). Spirits or angels control the lightning, causing a pause before the thunder comes (Eth. En. 60¹⁸⁻¹⁵). They control the workings of frost, hail, mist, dew, and rain; they preside over the treasures of these (vv. 18-22). Activities of many other kinds were attributed to angels. They kept the garden of Eden (Slav. En. 8); fiery angels now surround Paradise (30¹); and angels built the ark (Eth. En. 67²).

One of the important functions of angels was to guide and instruct the great apocalyptic seers. The angel of peace went with Enoch (Eth. En. 40⁸ 43³), and conducted him to the first heaven (Slav. En. 3), while Gabriel later took Enoch to God (20²). An angel talked to Ezra (2 Es 24⁴⁴, 46, 48 51⁵ 71¹); and Uriel was sent to Ezra (1¹, 36 51⁵, 20 71 10²⁸, 29). An angel revealed to Jacob Reuben's sin with Bilhah (Test. of Reuben 3¹⁰); an angel invited Levi to heaven, and showed him the secret of heaven to prepare him for the priesthood (Test. of Levi 2⁹ 5¹); an angel informed the patriarch Judah that he should be king of Jacob (Test. of Judah 21⁶), and announced to Jacob the birth of Rachel's children (Test. of Issachar 21). The angel of peace guides the soul of a good man at death (Test. of Benj. 6¹). Angels, called 'watchers,' came to earth in the days of Jared to teach men (Jub. 4¹⁵); an angel, spoken of as a 'holy one,' called to Hagar (17¹⁴); angels went up and down the ladder of Jacob's dream (27²¹); angels smote the flames of fire for the three children (v. 26). An angel told Habakkuk to carry his dinner to Daniel who was in the lion's den at Babylon, and took Habakkuk by the hair and transported him from Judaea to Babylon for this purpose and back again (Bel vv. 34-39). The angel Raphael came to heal Tobit's blindness (To 3¹⁷), accompanied the young Tobias (54-55, 21), instructed him how to drive an evil spirit away (6, 8²²), was sent by Tobias to Media after money (9¹²), opened Tobit's eyes (11²², 77¹), and was offered half the money (12²). Angels are portrayed as pitiful; they were in anguish when Zion was delivered to destruction (Apoc. Bar. 67²); and they are also represented as intercessors (Test. of Levi 3⁵ 5⁷, Test. of Dan 6²). It thus appears that all possible helpful agencies were attributed to them.

As angels were God's agents for blessing, so they were His instruments of chastisement. In the time of the Maccabees, prayer was offered that an angel might destroy the Greeks, as an angel destroyed the Assyrians (2 Mac 11⁶ 15²²). Enoch in the place of punishment saw angels administering torture (Slav. En. 10²²). It was believed that on the Day of Judgment an angel would be appointed avenger (Assump. Mos. 10²). An angel of God is said to have received orders to cut a sinner in twain (Sus vv. 53, 59). The word of God was said to have been an active angel of vengeance on the night of the Exodus (Wis 18¹⁵), and two angels were believed to have once descended from heaven to bind a hostile king (3 Mac 6¹⁸). When Jerusalem was destroyed, four angels stood at its four corners with lamps and accomplished its ruin (Apoc. Bar 7¹ 8¹). There was also an angel whose chief function was to bring death (21²³). Whatever, therefore, needed to be accomplished, whether good or bad, there was an angel to do it.

The tendency observable in a slight degree in the canonical literature to give the angels individual names appears in a greatly heightened form in the Apocryphal literature.

4. The conceptions of demons which appear in the Apocryphal literature are of four distinct types. Two of these regard the arch-demons as fallen angels, but in one type this angelic genesis of demons is much more prominent than in the other. (a) In the canonical literature discussed above, Satan was regarded as one of the number of the Divine beings who formed Jahweh's court (Job 1. 2). The steps by which in the canonical literature he became the great opposer of good have already been sketched. In one type of Apocryphal thought he became the arch-demon, who tempted man and led him astray (see Wis 2²⁴ and Slav. En. 3³¹). These writers simply took Satan over from the canonical literature, and his semi-Divine or angelic origin apparently was forgotten. The author of Wisdom moved in an atmosphere of philosophic thought in which neither angels nor demons played any considerable part. The author of Slavonic Enoch, though he makes much of angels, has almost nothing to say of demons. He probably believed in them, but the interest of his narrative led him to place the emphasis elsewhere. These writers call Satan by the Gr. tr. of his name, *diabolos*, or 'devil.' They identify him with the serpent of Eden, and account for the origin of sin by his agency in leading man astray.

(b) The authors of Eth. En. 1-36 and of the Enoch Parables (En. 37-71) represent a different type, being much more keenly interested in tracing the origin of demons and of evil. Instead of taking one arch-demon from the canonical literature, they go back to the narrative of Gn 6²⁻⁴, and account for the origin of demons and of sin by elaborating the hint there given. Persian dualism had sufficiently influenced their thought, so that matter was to them corrupt. That angels should come to earth and have connexion with human wives implied, they thought, a previous rebellion and sin on the part of the angels. The hint which supplied the point of departure for this view was probably given by the story of Satan in the prologue of the Book of Job. Those angelic hosts who sinned were numerous, but they were led by certain archangels, whose names are given somewhat differently by the two writers. These with their followers landed on Mount Hermon, and, after satisfying themselves with human wives, taught men various sins, some teaching one and some another. One taught enchantments, another astrology, another the making of swords, another the art of abortion, and another that of writing. The one who taught the use of coats of mail and of swords also seduced Eve (cf. Eth. En. 6-9 and 69). These writers, like the author of the J document of the Hexateuch, regarded the arts of civilization as having had a common origin with sin. Among the names of these arch-demons the canonical names of Satan and Azazel are found, but they play a comparatively small part. The rôle of Azazel is more prominent than that of Satan. The larger number of these angels (and to them are attributed the most hurtful influences) are called by names not found in the canonical literature. It appears from these names that many of them were called by names appropriate to angels. The degradation of the names to demons was in accord with the theory that they were fallen angels. In one passage (Eth. En. 21⁶) they are identified with the stars. Having introduced sin into the world, those fallen angels were regarded as the presiding geniuses of various forms of transgression and corruption. They were themselves, however, thought to be already undergoing punishment. They were bound and were being tormented by a great fire (Eth. En. 21⁵⁻¹⁰ 54¹⁻⁶).

(c) The Book of Tobit represents a third type of thought. In it but one demon appears,—Asmodeus, —and he is clearly, as his name implies, of Persian

origin (but see Ginzberg, *JE* ii. 217-219). The author of this book had so come under Persian influence, probably by living in the East, that its demonology or demonological vocabulary influenced him more than did that of the canonical, or even the apocryphal, writings of his people.

(d) A fourth type of thought is represented by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Ascension of Isaiah. In these works the demonology, while very real and all-pervasive, is made up in a rational way, and such contact as it has with canonical thought is at quite a different point of that thought. As mentioned above, the world is thought to be pervaded by evil spirits, but these are simply the personification of the evil propensities of man—jealousy, lust, pride, chicanery, injustice, rapacity, etc. Writers who thus made evil spirits of the sinful tendencies of men about them moved in a somewhat different realm of thought from those who connected these evil spirits with the story of Gn 6²⁻⁴ and gave to them orthodox Hebrew names. Over this mass of evil spirits the two writers under consideration believed that Beliar presided. Beliar to them takes the place of the devil in Wisdom and the Secrets of Enoch, of Semyaza in the other Enoch books, and of Asmodeus in Tobit. Beliar is a form of *Belial* (see vol. ii. p. 458^b f.). *Belial* had been used by Nahum (1¹⁰) as the name of a great evil power. Possibly *Belial* was an old name for Sheol, though that is uncertain. It it were so, it is easy to see why these writers took it as the name of the prince and leader of all evil and destructive spirits.

To most Jews of the period, as indeed to most men of that time, the world was full of supernatural agencies. As there were angels to accomplish every good act, so there were demons or evil spirits to perpetrate every evil deed or to prompt every sinful impulse. Some of the writers, however, manifest no trace of this demonology; such are Ben Sira and the authors of the Books of Maccabees. The subject-matter of Sirach as well as the philosophical point of view of its author excluded any reference to them, while the author of 1 Mac had probably come so far under the influence of incipient Sadduceism that demons had little or no place in his thought. To most men, however, demons in one form or another were very real, and played an important part in life.

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GEORGE A. BARTON.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Indian).—I. Prevalence of the belief in spirit influence.—The people of India, particularly the forest tribes and the lower castes, from the cradle to the grave or burning-ground, are oppressed with a feeling best described as demonophobia—the belief that they are haunted by evil spirits of all kinds, some malignant fiends, some mischievous elves, to whose agency are attributed all kinds of sickness and misfortune. Their worship is a worship of fear, the higher gods, particularly in the opinion of the less intelligent classes, being regarded as otiose and indifferent to the evils which attack the human race, while demons are habitually active and malignant.

Among the Thārus of the Himalayan Tarāi, 'the bhūts, or demons lurking in the forest trees, especially the weird cotton

tree (*Gomax heptaphyllum*), and the *prets*, or spirits of the dead, lead them a very miserable life. When the last ray of light leaves the forest, and the darkness settles down upon their villages, all the Thārus, men, women, and children, huddle together inside their fast-closed huts, in mortal dread of those ghostly beings, more savage and cruel than the leopards, tigers, and bears that now prowl about for their prey. Only the terrible cry of "Fire" will bring these poor fear-stricken creatures to open the doors and remove the heavy barriers from their huts at night. And even in the daytime, amid the hum of human life, the songs of the birds, and the lowing of the cattle, no Thāru, man, woman, or child, would ever venture along a forest-line, without casting a leaf, a branch, or a piece of old rag, upon the *bansati* (Skr. *vanaspati*, "king of the woods"), formed at the entrance of deep woods, to save them from the many diseases and accidents the goblins and malignant spirits of the forests can bring upon and cause them' (S. Knowles, *The Gospel in Gonda*, 1889, p. 214).

In S. India, where this belief is even more widely spread than in the N., 'every village is believed by the people to be surrounded by evil spirits, who are always on the watch to inflict disease and misfortunes of all kinds on the unhappy villagers. They lurk everywhere, on the tops of palmyra trees, in caves and rocks, in ravines and chasms. They fly about in the air, like birds of prey, ready to pounce down on any unprotected victim, and the Indian villagers pass through life in constant dread of these invisible enemies. So they turn for protection to the guardian deities of their village, whose function it is to ward off these evil spirits and protect the village from epidemics of cholera, smallpox, or fever; from cattle disease, failure of crops, childlessness, fires, and all the manifold ills that flesh is heir to in an Indian village' (Bishop H. Whitehead, *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 126 f.). Traill, who took over charge of Kumaun in 1820, reported that the population was divided into two classes, human beings and ghosts (E. S. Oakley, *Holy Himalaya*, 1905, p. 217 f.). For other testimony to the same effect, see S. Mater, *The Land of Charity*, 207 ff.; Sir W. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, 1893, i. 268 ff.; Bishop R. Caldwell, 'The Tinnevely Shanars,' in B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the S. Indian Gods*, 1869, p. 156 ff. This feeling of pessimism, due partly to racial idiosyncrasy, partly to the rigour of their environment, has prevailed among the races of India from the very earliest times (see H. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, 1894, p. 39 f.; Atharvaveda, *SBE* xlii. *passim*).

2. Origin and character of the cult of demons and evil spirits.—Demonolatry, the worship of devils or demons, is a form of belief in its origin independent of Brāhmanism or the orthodox form of Hinduism, though the latter has in many cases annexed and absorbed it (see § 12). The cultus is a true form of worship, and here the distinction between 'deity' and 'demon' is unmeaning, the latter being, as in the case of the orthodox gods, controlled by true worship or propitiation. But, like similar forms of popular belief in other parts of the world, it is amorphous and ill-organized, possessing little or no sacred literature and no established priesthood. The most obvious distinction is between non-human and human spirits.

(a) *Non-human spirits or fiends* are 'endowed with superhuman powers, and possess material bodies of various kinds, which they can change as they list, and which are subject to destruction. As free agents, they can choose between good and evil, but a disposition towards evil preponderates in their character' (G. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha or India*, 515 ff.). The so-called Asuras, Dānavas, Daityas, and Rākṣasas belong to this group, 'all personations of the hostile powers of Nature, or of mighty human foes, both which have been eventually converted into superhuman beings.' This group as a whole seems to be derived from pre-Animistic beliefs, the worship or dread of 'powers' (*numina*, not *nomina*), the vague impersonations of the terror of night, hill, cave, or forest. They appear in the Vedas as malevolent beings hostile to the orthodox gods (A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 156 ff.). Max Müller and J. Muir agree in denying that all these Vedic evil spirits were borrowed by the Aryans from the aborigines of India (*Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, 1897, i. 212; *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 1860, pt. ii. 380 ff.). It is safer to believe that among both Aryans and non-Aryans they were the result of pre-Animistic beliefs common to both races. At the same time, it is probable that the Aryan view of the demon world was coloured by their association with the indigenous races.

'The black complexion, ferocious aspect, barbarous habits, rude speech, and savage yells of the Dasyus, and the sudden and furtive attacks which, under cover of the impenetrable woods, and the obscurity of night, they would make on the encampment of the Aryas, might naturally lead the latter to speak of them, in the highly figurative language of an imaginative people in the first stage of civilisation, as ghosts or demons; or even to conceive of their hidden assailants as possessed of magical and superhuman powers, or as headed by devils. . . . At length the further advance of the Aryas would either drive the Dasyus into the remotest corners of the country, or lead to their partial incorporation with the conquerors as the lowest grade in their community. When this stage was reached, the Aryas would no longer have any occasion to compose prayers to the gods for protection against the aboriginal tribes; but their superstitious dread of the evil spirits, with which the popular mind in all ages has been prone to people the night, would still continue' (*Orig. Skr. Texts*, pt. ii, p. 409 f.). Hence it was the habit in ancient, as well as in modern times, to personify Nīsi or Night as a demon; she comes at midnight, calls the house-master, and forces him to follow her whither she will; she drags him into the forest, drops him among thorns, or on the top of some high tree; and it is very dangerous to answer her call (*JASB* i. [1886] 49 f.; *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* of Somadeva, tr. C. H. Tawney, 1880, ii. 604; Lal Behari Day, *Govinda Samanta*, 1874, i. 9; *NINQ* iii. [1894] 199).

As representing the vague terrors felt by early man in the desert and forest, these Indian spirits resemble in many ways the Arabian *jinn* (W. R. Smith, 119 ff.); or, as Westermarck (*MI*, 1908, ii. 689) designates them, 'beings invented to explain what seems to fall outside the ordinary pale of Nature, the wonderful and unexpected, the superstitious imaginations of men who fear.' Hence many of the Indian races represent their deities or demons as inhabiting wild hills or lonely forests. The Meitheids believe that their demons occupy hills (T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheids*, 1908, p. 120). The Kōnga Malayans of Cochin worship two demoniacal deities named after the rocks in which they reside; Sasthi, a sylvan deity, is adored by the Vallans, and is said to live in a hill; the Eravallans believe that their forests and hills are full of dangerous demons, who live in trees, and rule the wild beasts, some of them afflicting particular families or villages, and are propitiated to relieve their hunger, not in the hope of gaining any benefit for their worshippers; the Nayadis worship a group of forest demons, one of which brings them game, and is abused for his ingratitude if the hunt proves unsuccessful (L. K. Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, i. 41, 239, 47, 53). Trees are also a favourite demon-haunt (Tyler, *Prim. Cult.*, 2, 1873, ii. 221). The Izhuvans believe that trees are occupied by demons; and, when it is proposed to cut a tree, a notice to the demons is written on the bark informing them that it is intended to eject them (Iyer, i. 281; cf. Crooke, *PR*, 1896, ii. 99 f.; R. V. Russell, *Census Rep. Central Provinces*, 1901, i. 92). Many of the non-Aryan tribes in Bengal worship deities who reside in hills. Such are the Juāngs, Santāls, Oraons, Cheros, Kandhs, and Bauris (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1891, i. 353, ii. 233, 145, i. 202, 403, 80). The Todas believe that, before they were created, their gods occupied the Nīgiri Hills; they now reside in heights close to the Toda hamlets (Rivers, *The Todas*, 1906, p. 182 ff.). In the same class are the water spirits or deities found all over the country, which are malevolent, and drag down unwary travellers—an idea which appears in the classical tale of Narcissus (Crooke, i. 42 ff.; Frazer, *GP*, 1990, i. 293). These Rākṣasas, Dānavas, or Daityas still maintain their position in popular belief, the tradition surviving through the study of the Epic literature and the older collections of folklore, like the *Jātakas* or the tales of Somadeva.

(b) *Human spirits*.—The second and much more important class of evil spirits is that of the ghosts of human beings, known collectively as *Bhūta* (Skr. rt. *bhū*, 'to become, be'). In contradistinction to the fiends or non-human spirits, these are the malignant spirits of men, which for various reasons cherish feelings of hostility to the human race, and, if not expelled or propitiated, do endless mischief. Among the more primitive or debased tribes the belief that disease and death are the result of the normal or abnormal processes of Nature is only imperfectly realized; and these and other calamities are regarded as the work of evil spirits, sometimes acting on their own initiative, sometimes incited by a sorcerer or witch.

3. The *Bhūta*: their characteristics.—In S. India three terms are used to designate these spirits—*Bhūta*, *Preta*, *Pisācha*, the first name being ordinarily applied to all three classes.

These beings, always evil, originate from the souls of those who have died untimely or violent deaths, or been deformed, idiotic, or insane; afflicted with fits or unusual ailments; or drunken, dissolute, or wicked during life. The precise distinction between the three classes is that the *Preta* (Skr. rt. *prē*, 'to depart from life') is a ghost of a child dying in infancy, or of one born deformed, imperfect, or monstrous—events attributed to neglect in performing certain ceremonies prescribed during the ten days when, according to popular notions, the limbs of the

embryo are forming in the womb: such a ghost becomes a misshapen, distorted goblin. The *Pisācha* ('flesh-eater'), on the other hand, is derived rather from mental characteristics, and is the ghost of madmen, habitual drunkards, the treacherous and violent-tempered. . . . *Bhūtas* emanate from those who die in any unusual way, by violence, accident, suicide, or sentence of law; or who have been robbers, notorious evil-doers, or dreaded for cruelty and violence. The death of any well-known bad character is a source of terror to all his neighbourhood, as he is sure to become a *Bhūta* or demon, as powerful and malignant as he was in life' (M. J. Walhouse, *JAI* v. 408 f.). They are represented with small thick bodies, of a red colour, with pigtailed round their heads, horrible faces, the teeth of a lion in their mouths, and their bodies covered with ornaments (Caldwell, in Ziegenbalg, 153). In the Deccan they live in large trees, empty houses, or old wells; they often appear as a deer, a tall figure, a strange ox or goat; if a person sleeps under a haunted tree, cuts a branch of it, defiles the abode of the *Bhūta*, or jostles one on the road, he falls sick or some ill-luck befalls him (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 292). In Gujārāt the *Bhūta* and *Preta*, like the European Vampire, are believed to take possession of a corpse, and speak through its mouth; they appear in the form which they possessed when living; enter a living man, and cause him to speak as they please; afflict him with fever or other disease; appear as animals, and frighten people by vanishing in a flame of fire; remain sometimes invisible, and speak only in whispers; a *Bhūta* has been known to come to fisticuffs with a man, or to carry him off and set him down in a strange place; cases have been reported in which women have been found with child by them; when a *Bhūta* appears in a tree, a pile of stones is raised at its root, to which every passer-by adds one; if stones be not procurable, a rag is stuck to the tree, which is hence known as the 'Rag-uncle' (cf. Hartland, *LP*, 1895, ii. 176 ff.; Crooke, *PR*, i. 161 ff.) (*Dalpatram Dāya*, 'Bhoot Nibundh', in A. K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, 844 ff.). The *Bhūta* eat filth, and drink any water, however impure; they cannot rest on the ground, and for this reason a peg, or brick, or bamboo pole is placed at their shrines on which they may sit or perch; they speak a sort of gibberish in a nasal tone, and hence 'goblin speech' (*piśācha bhāṣa*) is the term applied to the jargon in the mediæval drama and in modern English (*PR*, i. 238); those who come from dead *Brāhmanas* are wheat-coloured, while others, like the ghost of a negro, are black and specially dreaded (*ib.* i. 236 ff.). As a rule they are helpless by day, and move abroad at night; but mid-day, when they cook, and evening are especially dangerous times, and women should not move about, especially at midday, unprotected (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, vi. 230; A. K. Iyer, i. 150; *BG* xviii. pt. i. 292; *PNQ* iv. 132; cf. the similar classical belief [Theocrit. *Idyll* i. 15; Lucan, *Pharsal* iii. 423; R. Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, 1892, p. 181; J. T. Bent, *The Cyclopes*, 1885, p. 85; cf. also art. CALENDAR [Celtic], vol. iii. p. 82).

4. *Spirits of the murdered, the unsatisfied, the foreigner*.—Of these classes of *Bhūta* the most dangerous are the spirits of the murdered, the unsatisfied, and the dreaded foreigner.

(a) *Spirits of the murdered*.—All over the world the ghost of a murdered person is believed to cherish an angry passion for revenge (Westermarck, i. 418 f.). Some of the most dangerous *Bhūta* are of this class.

In Coorg the demon most widely feared is that of a magician who was shot. Elmakaltai, mother of seven sons, who was buried as a sacrifice under the walls of the Kolhapur fort (cf. Crooke, ii. 173 ff.), causes food supplies to dwindle, the milk to give no butter, and the cattle to sicken; the Oraons distinguish three classes of such demons, who are known as the *Bhūla*, 'wanderers who have lost their way,' including those who have been murdered, hanged, or killed by a tiger (G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg*, 1870, p. 165; *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1906, i. 140 f.). Several of the most widely revered local deities of N. India are the spirits of persons, particularly *Brāhmanas*, who have lost their lives in some tragical way, and the ghosts of dead bandits, or of those who were slain by tigers or other wild animals (E. A. Gait, *Census Rep. Bengal*, 1901, i. 196 ff.; Crooke, i. 191 ff., ii. 213 f.).

Hence comes the conception of a special *Brāhman* demon, known as *Brāhma-rākṣasa*, *Brāhma-daitya*, *Brāhma-purusa*, or popularly as *Brahm*, the spirit of a murdered *Brāhman*. The *Brāhman* being himself spirit-laden, his ghost is invested with special potency for good or evil. In Bengal

'such spirits are specially powerful and malicious. Sometimes they are represented as a headless trunk, with the eyes looking from the breast. They are believed to inhabit large trees by the side of a river or in some lonely place, whence they throw stones at travellers and lead them astray on dark nights, and woe betide the unfortunate who should give one of them cause for offence (e.g. by unwittingly felling the tree in which they have taken up their abode), or who was in any way responsible for his death. He can only escape the evil consequences by making the *Brāhman* his family deity and worshipping him regularly' (Gait, i. 198; Crooke, ii. 78). In W. India the rulers of the

¹ Hereafter cited as *M.A.S.E.*

State of Sāvāntvādī are afflicted by the demon-spirit of a Brāhman killed in the 17th century. He is particularly excited if any one uses his seal of office, and down to the present day a Brāhman is always employed to seal the State papers (BG x. 440). In the Deccan the Brāhma-samādh, the spirit of a married Brāhman, haunts empty houses, burning-grounds, river-banks, seldom attacks people, but when he does attack them it is difficult to shake him off (ib. xxiv. 415). In the same region the Brāhma-purūṣa is the spirit of a miser Brāhman, who died in grief, intent on adding to his hoard; when he lives in his own house, he attacks any member of the family who spends his money, wears his clothes, or does anything to which in life he would have objected (ib. xviii. pt. i. 553 f.).

(b) *Those who have left this world with unsatisfied desires.*—The spirits of the unhappy or unsatisfied fall into several groups:—

(a) *Unhappy widows and widowers, childless women.*—Among these the most dreaded is the Churel, Churail, Chuḍel, Chuḍail, or the Alwantin, as she is called in the Deccan—the spirit of a pregnant woman, one dying on the day of childbirth, or within the period of puerperal pollution.

In the Panjāb she appears as a pretty woman, with her feet turned backwards, and is especially dangerous to members of her own family (PNQ ii. 165 f.). Among the Orāons, when the exorcist forces her to appear in the flame of his lamp, she looks like the Dakini, the common type of ogress; but her feet are distorted, she is hunch-backed, and has a large hole in her belly like the hollow in a tree (MAB, 1906, i. 140). In Madras a woman who dies prematurely, especially as the result of suicide or accident, becomes a she-devil, known by the euphemistical title of Mohani, 'the charmer,' and she so conducts until her normal term of life is over (NINQ i. 104). In the Deccan the Jakhi (Skr. *yakṣiṇī*, rt. *yakṣ*, 'to move') is the spirit of an uneasy married woman, who haunts bathing and cooking rooms, attacks her husband's second wife and children, takes her own children from their stepmother, or, like the British fairies, steals babies and returns them after a time (BG xxiv. 416). The spirit of a deceased husband or wife, particularly the latter, is most dangerous to his or her successor. This is, in part, an explanation of the objection felt among the higher castes to widow-marriage, of the custom of performing the rite at night in order to avoid the observation of the angry spirit, and of the use of sundry ceremonies which repel evil spirits (R. E. Enthoven, *Bombay Census Rep.*, 1901, i. 205). Among the Kolis of Ahmadnagar a widow bride is held to be unlucky for three days after her marriage, and must take care that no married woman sees her until that period is over: if after such a marriage the widow bride or her husband should fall sick, the medium, when consulted, usually reports that it is caused by the spirit of her first husband, who is annoyed because his wife has married again; the bride has to give a feast, spend money in charity, and wear in a copper case round her neck a tiny image of her late husband, or set it among the household gods (BG xvii. 206). Such amulets are known in the Panjāb as the crown of the rival wife (*saukan mauṛā*), and to them all gifts made to her are presented as a measure of precaution (H. A. Rose, *Census Rep.*, 1901, i. 121). Sometimes the widow wears a gold-wire bracelet on her right wrist, and every year, in the name of her deceased husband, feeds a Brāhman woman whose husband is alive, and gives her clothes (BG xxii. 814). When a widow of the Let tribe in Bengal marries again, her second husband is usually a widower, and he places the iron bangle of his first wife on the arm of her successor (E. A. Gait, i. 421). In the Deccan the Aṛā is the spirit of a young woman who committed suicide after bearing one or more children; she attacks young women, and must be propitiated by offerings of cooked rice, turmeric, red powder, and a bodice (BG xviii. pt. i. 553). The Hadal or Hedali, the spectre of a woman dying in pregnancy or childbirth, is plump in front and a skeleton behind, lives in wells, trees, or dark corners of the house, attacks women, and, sometimes appearing as a beautiful woman, lives with men until her fiend nature or spectre form is discovered (ib. xviii. pt. i. 564). The corpses of women dying under such circumstances are often burnt in order to prevent sorcerers from digging them up and using the unborn fetus or the bones of the mother for purposes of Black Magic (ib. xxiii. 201; A. K. Iyer, i. 77 f.).

(β) *Unhappy children and the unmarried.*—Under the influence of the same belief that the spirits of those dying with unsatisfied desires become malignant, children and unmarried persons are included in the army of evil spectres.

In the Himālaya, the Tolā or Masān (the latter a term ordinarily used to designate cemetery spectres) are the spirits of children or bachelors, sometimes appearing in the form of a will-o'-the-wisp, banished from the society of other spirits, living in wild and solitary places, sometimes prowling about in the form of bears or other wild animals. They are, as a rule, harmless, and their present estate is only temporary, because after a time they undergo transformation, and assume other shapes (Crooke, i. 261; Oakley, 218).

The spirits of the unmarried dead form a large group.

In S. India such spirits are called Virika (Skr. *virā*, 'heroic,' 'eminent'), 'ad to their memory have small temples and

images erected, where offerings of cloth, rice, and the like are made to their *manes*. If this be neglected, they appear in dreams, and threaten those who are forgetful of their duty' (F. Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, i. 359; cf. ii. 120, 152, where the name is extended to the spirits of bad men, who afflict the living). In Kanara, if neglected, such spirits send pestilence among men and sheep, and disturb people by dreams and nightmares (BG xv. pt. i. 300). In the Deccan the Jhoting is the spirit of a youth dying unmarried and leaving no relatives; it lives in trees, ruins, or burial-grounds, is most faithless and can be bound by no oath, personifies absent husbands, leads wayfarers into pools and drowns them, waylays postmen, who are safe so long as they do not lay down their bags (BG xviii. pt. i. 554). Elsewhere the Jhoting is the ghost of a low-caste Hindu who died with unsatisfied desires, wears no clothes, and lets his hair flow loose; he lives in a house of his own, but, if this be hurst or pulled down, he removes to a river or well; he fears to enter sacred places, or to attack persons learned in the Vedas and strict in the performance of their religious duties (ib. xxiv. 417). In the Deccan those who die after the rite of thread-girding and before marriage become evil spirits, known as Muñjā (Skr. *mūñja*, 'the fibre girdle of the Brāhman') or Aṭhavar (Skr. *aṣṭavarṣa*, 'eight years old') (ib. xviii. pt. i. 539). Such spirits are greatly feared in the Panjāb, where they are known by the euphemistical title of 'father' (*pitā*); shrines are erected to them near tanks, and offerings are made (NINQ v. 179). A typical case of the deification of the unmarried is found in the cult of Dūhā Deo, 'the deified bridegroom,' which seems to have originated in the Central Provinces, where a bridegroom on his wedding journey was killed by a tiger or in some other tragical way; at marriages a miniature coat, shoes, and bridal crow, with a little swing to amuse the child, are offered to him (R. V. Russell, i. 80; Crooke, i. 119 ff.). In the Panjāb, under the influence of Vaiṣṇava beliefs, he is said to represent the relationship of God to the human soul, exhibited as that of a lover to his mistress (H. A. Rose, i. 130). For similar legends of a bride and bridegroom turned into stone, see J. Grimm, *Teut. Mythol.*, Eng. tr., 1888, iv. 1446; W. C. Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, 1897, ii. 549.

(c) *Spirits of foreigners.*—The same feelings of awe or fear naturally attach to the spirits of dead foreigners, whose valour, cruelty, or other qualities have impressed the minds of a subject people.

At Sahāraapur a Musalmān named Allah Bakhs, who died in a state of impurity, has become a dangerous demon, worshipped by the lower castes of Hindus (NINQ v. 153). Such a spirit is known by the euphemistical title of Mamūh, 'praised,' 'famous,' or as Najis, 'the impure one.' He wears Musalmān dress, with his hair on end, and carries branches in his hands; even the Pir, or saint, sometimes becomes hostile to people who unguardedly sit upon his tomb, spit at it, or in other ways annoy him (ib. v. 106; BG xxiv. 416 f., xviii. pt. i. 554). People resort to the shrine of a Muhammadan saint, Alam Pir, at Muzaffargarh in the Panjāb, to procure release from such spirits. In fact, the Indian Muhammadans have appropriated much of the demonology of their Hindu neighbours, and exorcism and the modes of securing control of evil spirits have become important branches of science (G. A. Herklots, *Qanoon-e-Islam*, 1863, p. 201 ff.; BG ix. pt. ii. 147 f.). In the same way the dread spirits of Europeans are propitiated. That of a certain Captain Pole, killed at Travancore in 1809, is appeased with gifts of spirits and cigars (JAB i. 104; F. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, 1906, p. 296 f.). Similar cases of the propitiation of the spirits of European men and women are common in various parts of the country (Crooke, ii. 199; BG xviii. pt. i. 413, pt. iii. 447; NINQ ii. 93; PNQ ii. 133). In some places, however, such spirits are regarded as kindly, as in the cases of General Raymond, who died at Haidarābād in 1798, and Colonel Wallace, who died in the Deccan in 1809 (S. H. Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Hist. and Descr. Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions*, 1883, ii. 600 ff.; BG xviii. pt. iii. 447 f.).

5. Modes of repelling or conciliating evil spirits.

—Various methods are employed to repel or conciliate evil spirits. If the spirit after death is to pass to the home of the Pitṛi, or sainted dead, or to undergo the necessary stages of transmigration, it is necessary that the funeral rites (*śrāddha*) shall have been duly performed (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Indian], vol. i. p. 450 ff.). Hence the family spirit is usually benevolent, if care be taken to provide for its wants. Thus arises the very common classification of spirits into the 'inside' and the 'outside'—the former usually friendly; the latter, being foreigners, usually hostile. The Orāons divide their spirits into those of the house, the sept, the village, and the Bhūla, or dangerous wanderers (MAB, 1906, i. 138). In the Deccan there are 'home' and 'outside' spirits, the latter not being greatly feared, because, though every field has its evil spirit, they are restrained by the Guardians (see § 9), who are more powerful and able to control them. The friendly house spirit generally merges

into the protecting family deity, like Gumo Gosāin, the Mālē god who dwells in the house pillar, or Dharma Pennū, the Kandh god of the family or tribe (Risley, ii. 58, i. 403).

In any case, after a time, usually represented by the period of human memory, the spirit automatically passes to its rest, and ceases to be a source of danger to the survivors.

In the Deccan the life and influence of a Bhūta last for four, and the evil conditions of haunted places for two, generations (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 555); the Hpon of Upper Burma worship only their fathers and mothers (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. pt. i. 568, 600; cf. Crooke, i. 178).

When the inability to perform the funeral rites and the consequent restlessness or maliciousness of the spirit are due to the absence of the corpse, as in the case of death occurring in a strange land or the failure to recover the body, the relatives perform the funeral in effigy.

Among the Garos, when a man dies away from his village and cannot be cremated at home, the relatives buy a number of cowrie-shells and put them in a pot to represent the bones of the dead man, or erect a mortuary hut in which they are deposited (*A. Playfair, The Garos*, 1909, p. 111). In some cases, among orthodox Hindus, the corpse is represented by branches of the sacred *Butea frondosa* tree—the head by a coco-nut; pearls, or, failing them, cowrie-shells, for the eyes; the whole being covered with paste made of ground pulse to simulate the flesh, and a deer-skin representing the cuticle; the officiating priest, by the use of magical formula (*mantra*), infuses life into the image, the animating principle being represented by a lamp placed close by; when the lamp goes out, the usual funeral rites are performed (*NINQ* iii. 201; cf. *BG* xviii. pt. i. 563). When the death of a relative occurs under an unlucky constellation in a Brahman family, a special quieting rite (*śānti*) is performed to appease the uneasy spirit.

Even in the case of those dying in a natural way, precautions are taken to prevent the spirit from returning to its original home from the burial- or cremation-ground.

Among the Madras tribes, when a Bāvuri is being buried, the friends say: 'You were living with us; now you have left us. Do not trouble the people'; the spirit of a dead Savara is solemnly adjured not to worry his widow: 'Do not send sickness on her children. Her second husband has done no harm to you. She chose him for her husband, and he consented; O man, be appeased! O unseen ones! O ancestors! be you witnesses' (Thurston, i. 179, vi. 321). When the corpse of a Taungtha is carried outside the house, the chief mourner pours water on it, saying: 'As a stream divides countries, so may the water now poured divide us!' (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. pt. i. 557).

Another plan is to endeavour to deceive the spirit, so that it may not find its way back, by taking it out of the house feet foremost, or through a door not usually opened for ingress and egress.

The Meitheids never carry the corpse over the threshold of the main door; sometimes a hole is cut in the wall, or the tiny side entrance is used (Hodson, 117). Among the Maghs of Bengal, when the master of the house has died, the mourners on their return cut away the house ladder, and creep in through a hole cut in the back wall, in order to baffle the ghost (Risley, ii. 34). A similar device is that of making the corpse-bearers change places on the road to the grave, and turn the corpse in the opposite direction (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 424; ix. pt. i. 48). With the same intention, the mourners are forbidden to look back when leaving the cemetery (Crooke, ii. 56 f.), the evil influence being communicated through the sight (*E. Crawley, The Mystic Rose*, 1902, p. 115; *FL* xviii. [1907] 345).

Sometimes the repression of the evil spirit is secured in a physical way.

The thumbs and great toes of the corpse are tied together to prevent the ghost from 'walking,' or it is tied up in a cotton bag, as among the Bhotiyas (Playfair, 106; Thurston, iii. 104, iv. 371, 494, v. 483, vii. 83; *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. pt. i. 557; *MASB*, 1905, i. 109). Among the Koyis of Madras, when a girl dies of syphilis, a fish-trap is erected to catch the spirit, and prevent it from entering the village (Thurston, iv. 55). Some people, when returning from the funeral, fling pebbles towards the pyre to scare the spirit, or make a barricade of thorny bushes between the grave and the house (Crooke, ii. 57; Risley, ii. 75). With the same intention, the names of deceased relatives are tabu for a generation, to avoid recalling their spirits; or, when parents die, men assume the names of their deceased grandfather; women, of their grandmother (Sir R. Temple, *Census Rep. Andaman Islands*, 1901, i. 253). One reason given for the wide-spread custom of shaving after a death is that it changes the appearance of the mourners so as to deceive the pursuing spirit, or removes the shelter in which it may hide and cling to the mourner (Frazer, *JAI* xv. [1886] 99). To prevent the spirit rising from the grave and 'walking,' it is a common practice, particularly among menial castes, to bury the corpse

face downwards, and to pile stones and thorns on the grave (Thurston, iv. 222, 374, vii. 426; Gait, i. 419; Crooke, ii. 60; *BG* xxii. 196; cf. R. S. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, 1850, p. 322).

Precautions in the case of more dangerous spirits.

—Precautions of this kind are more urgent in the case of spirits specially malignant.

In the case of the Churel, sometimes the corpse of a woman dying pregnant is cut open and the child removed; or the spirit is scared by fire, earth, and water; or iron nails are driven into her fingers, and the thumbs fastened together with iron rings (Crooke, i. 272 ff.). The Oraons carry the corpse of such a woman to a distance, break the feet above the ankles, and twist them round, bringing the heels in front, into which they drive long thorns; they bury her deep in the earth face downwards, and place with her corpse the bones of an ass, reciting the anathema: 'If you come home, may you turn into an ass!'; the roots of a palm-tree are also buried with her, with the curse: 'May you come home when the leaves of the palm wither!'; when they leave the burial-ground, they spread mustard seeds along the road, saying: 'When you try to come home, pick up all these!' (*MASB*, 1906, i. 140). This last charm is very common, and is one of the usual impossible tasks found in the folk-tales (Crooke, i. 273 f.; *BG* xix. 134, xxiv. 417; Steel-Temple, *Wide-awake Stories*, 1884, p. 430). These precautions, under Brahman guidance, have been elaborated into a special funeral ritual for women dying during the menstrual period, after the sixth month of pregnancy, and within ten days after childbirth (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 561 f.).

The misery of the unmarried dead is relieved by the curious rite of marriage with the dead (cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. [1898] 389 ff.)—a custom which in India seems to prevail only in Madras and among some Burmese tribes.

When a Toda boy dies unmarried, a girl is selected; her head is covered by her father with a mantle, and she puts food into the pocket of the mantle of the dead; the Nāmbūtiri Brahmins perform the rite of tying the marriage necklace on a dead unmarried girl (Rivers, 367, 701; *Bull. Madr. Mus.* iii. 61). The disgusting custom of enforced sexual connexion by a male with such a dead girl, ascribed by Abbé Dubois to the Nāyars, seems to be based on a misunderstanding of this rite of mock marriage (J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, 1906, p. 161.). Besides the Todas and Nāmbūtiris, several S. Indian tribes perform this mock marriage, such as the Badagas, Billavas, and Komatis, while among the Pāllis and Vāniyans the dead bachelor is solemnly married to the *arka* plant (*Calotropis gigantea*) (V. N. Aiyar, *Travancore State Manual*, 1906, ii. 259; Thurston, i. 117, 250 f., iii. 334, v. 197, vi. 22, vii. 315). Among the Chins of Upper Burma, if, before the great contracting ceremony is completed, either party dies, the rites are continued with the corpse, which is kept unburied until the rite is finished; in this they probably follow the custom well established among the Chinese (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, ii. pt. ii. 303; J. J. M. de Groot, *Rel. Syst. of China*, 1894, ii. 800 ff.; J. H. Gray, *China*, 1878, i. 216 ff.).

6. Possession by spirits.—Possession by evil spirits or demons is of two kinds:

'The theory of embodiment serves several highly important purposes in savage and barbarian philosophy. On the one hand, it provides an explanation of the phenomena of morbid exaltation and derangement, especially as connected with abnormal utterance, and this view is so far extended as to produce an almost general doctrine of disease. On the other hand, it enables the savage either to "lay" a hurtful spirit in some foreign body, and so get rid of it, or to carry about a useful spirit for his service in a material object, to set it up as a deity for worship in the body of an animal, or in a block or stone or image or other thing, which contains the spirit as a vessel contains a fluid: this is the key to strict fetishism, and in no small measure to idolatry' (Tylor, i. 123).

These two varieties of spirit possession can be traced in Indian beliefs.

(a) *Abnormal or disease possession.*—In the first place, we have cases of abnormal possession. Certain persons are supposed to be specially liable to spirit possession, thus defined by a native writer:

'The men most liable to spirit attacks are the impotent, the lustful, the lately widowed, bankrupts, sons and brothers of whores, convicts, the idle, brooders on the unknowable, gluttons, and starvers. The women most liable to spirit attacks are girls, young women who have lately come of age, young widows, idlers, whores, brooders on the unknowable, irregular or gluttonous eaters, and all sickly women. Women are specially liable to spirit attacks during their monthly sickness, during pregnancy, and in childhood; and men, women, and children are all apt to suffer when, dressed in their best, they go to gardens or near wells. Intelligent and educated men and healthy intelligent women are freer than others from spirit attacks' (*BG* xxii. 813).

Demon possession thus accounts for various abnormal states of mind and for the phenomena classed as hysteria. Hence patients, particularly women, suffering in this way require special pro-

tection, or it is necessary to expel the demons by whom they are possessed.

In Cochín, among the Eravallars, if a pregnant woman dreams of dogs, cats, or wild animals coming to attack her, she is believed to be possessed by demons. An exorcist, or 'devil-driver,' is called in, who makes a hideous figure on the ground representing the demon, singa, beats a drum, mutters spells, burns frankincense, and waves round the head of the patient an offering of food for the demon, on receiving which he leaves her (A. K. Iyer, i. 45 f., 107; Thurston, ii. 73, 214). In the Panjāb, a woman after childbirth is specially liable to the attacks of demons, and has to wear an iron ring, made, if possible, out of an old horse-shoe, and to keep a fire burning near her (P.N.Q. iii. 81). For the same reason, at the puberty rites of a girl, offerings are made to demons (A. K. Iyer, i. 146). The same is the case with people at various crises of their lives, such as the bride and bridegroom, the mourners, and the corpse-bearers at funeral rites. Such persons are protected by various charms and amulets (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Indian], vol. iii. p. 441 f.).

(b) *Conciliation by gifts of food, etc.*—Attempts are often made to conciliate demons on such occasions by throwing food for them by the roadside or in the house.

In the Himālaya, food is waved round the head of a possessed person and left out on the road by night, any one touching it being liable to spirit attack (P.N.Q. iii. 73). When a birth occurs in the family of a Chitpāvan Brāhman, cooked rice, on which a dough lamp is placed, is laid in a corner of the street (BG xviii. pt. i. 113 f.). When the Reddis of Bijapur disturb the field spirits at the first ploughing, pieces of coco-nut are thrown on each side of the plough track; and at a Brāhman funeral in the Deccan a man carries a winnowing-fan full of coco-kernel which he scatters abroad (ib. xxiii. 147, xviii. pt. i. 149). The Kūki priest, in cases of sickness, prescribes the appropriate victim, and eats its flesh, throwing what he cannot eat as an offering into the jungle (E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, p. 46).

(c) *Expulsion of spirits by flagellation.*—Especially in the case of attacks of the hysterical kind, the patient is soundly beaten, until the demon speaks through him or her, and promises to depart.

'If the devil should prove an obstinate one and refuse to leave, charms they never so wisely, his retreat may generally be hastened by the vigorous application of a slipper or broom to the shoulders of the possessed person, the operator taking care to use at the same time the most scurrilous language he can think of' (Bishop R. Caldwell, writing of the Timnevelly Shanars, in Ziegenbalg, 164). In the Deccan one plan of scaring a demon is for the exorcist to take the possessed person before an idol, seize him by the top-knot, and scourge and abuse him until the Bhūta says what offering or penance will satisfy him (BG xviii. pt. i. 292). The tortures inflicted on supposed witches and other possessed persons have resulted in death or serious injury (N.I.N.Q. iii. 202 f.; N. Chevers, *Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India*, 1870, p. 546 f.; for further accounts of exorcism by flagellation, see Crooke, i. 99, 155 f., ii. 34; cf. Frazer, *GB* ii. 127 f., 215 f.). In Car Nicobar true ceremonial murders of men, women, and even children have been performed for the public benefit by organized bodies, because the victims are considered dangerous or obnoxious to the community; the murdered persons are charged with possession by an evil spirit as illustrated by their propensity to witchcraft, incendiarism, homicide, failure to cure diseases, or theft; but the root cause is that the victim is believed to be possessed by demon, and hence dangerous; his limbs are broken, he is strangled, and his corpse is flung into the sea (Sir R. Temple, 210).

(d) *Expulsion of disease spirits.*—The evil spirits most generally feared are those which bring disease. To their agency are attributed epidemics in general, especially cholera, plague, or smallpox, and maladies which are unforeseen or those which indicate spirit possession, such as fits, fever, rheumatism, colic, and the like. Such spirits are often got rid of by transference, the spirit being compelled or induced to remove to another village or to some distant place.

In the Panjāb, if the fever spirit be detected, the officiant goes at night to a graveyard, brings home some earth, lays it near the patient, and next day suspends a string from an acacia tree, on which it is believed that the spirit hangs itself; or a string is wound in seven strands from toe to head of the patient, and then it is tied round the tree, in the hope of conciliating the tree spirit which causes the fever spirit to depart (P.N.Q. i. 40). In Upper Burma, when children fall ill, an egg, some of the child's hair, and some sweetmeats are placed on a little boat and consigned to the river, which carries away the spirit; by a later conception this is supposed to be an offering to the water Nāt or spirit (*Gazetteer*, ii. pt. i. 29 f.; cf. Frazer, *GB* ii. 97 ff., 105 f.). A very common method is to convey the disease by means of a scape-animal from the infected area. In Berar the cholera spirit is expelled by yoking a plough, and driving it round the village to form a sacred circle, which foreign and hostile spirits cannot pass; a fowl and a goat are sacrificed and buried in the ground, and near them the beam and

plough-yoke are fixed, danbed with red lead, and worshipped; a cart is then dragged containing the image of Mari, the disease goddess, from her shrine, to the village boundary, where the image is worshipped, and a buffalo calf is sacrificed and buried (N.I.N.Q. iv. 206 f.). In the Telugu country the scape-animal is a buffalo, and, as the image of the goddess is carried in procession, people flourish sticks, awords, or spears, and cut up lime and throw them into the air in order to induce the hungry spirits to seize them and thus be diverted from attacking the man who hears the image (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 130).

7. *Possession by spirits of the exorcist.*—The exorcism of evil spirits by a professional exorcist has been reduced to a system, and prevails widely in all parts of the country, particularly in S. India. In N. India the medium is known as Bhagat (Skr. *bhakti*, 'fervent faith'), Syānā, 'the wise one,' Ojāh (Skr. *upādhyāya*, 'teacher'); among the hill tribes of Central India as Baigā, Bhonkā, Parihār, or Demano; in the Deccan as Jantā, 'the knowing one,' or Devrishī, 'holy saint.' He is distinguished from the Mantri, who learns by orthodox methods the charm formulæ (*mantra*) from a teacher (*guru*), by the fact that he does not undergo special training, but works through the inspiration of a familiar spirit or guardian, which enters him when he works himself up into the proper state of ecstasy. This ecstatic state occurs on various occasions and for various purposes. His special province is the expulsion of various kinds of disease; but he also becomes possessed at death rites, when he identifies and announces the pleasure of the spirit, at naming, when he decides the proper name of the child, and at other domestic and religious rites. The medium in his ecstatic state is seized with revolting cramp-like contortions and muscular quivering, head-wagging, and frantic dancing, which usually end in complete or partial insensibility. When Sir C. A. Elliott witnessed a séance, 'the man did not literally revolve; he covered his head well up in his cloth, leaving space over the head for the god to come to; and in this state he twisted and turned himself about rapidly, and soon sank exhausted. Then, from the pit of his stomach, he uttered words which the bystanders interpreted to direct a certain line of conduct for the sick man to pursue. But perhaps the occasion was not a fair test, as the Parihār strongly objected to the presence of an unbeliever, on the pretence that the god was afraid to come before so great a *hākīm* [official]' (*Settlement Rep. Hoshangābād*, 1867, p. 120). Compare the account by Capt. W. L. Samuells, in Dalton, 232 f., quoted above, vol. ii. p. 488 f.

(a) *Tabus imposed upon the medium.*—The medium is subject to numerous tabus.

The god 'would leave his head' if either a cow or a Brāhman attended the rites, thus proving their non-Aryan origin. The Kotā medium must not speak directly to his wife or to any other woman for three months before the rite; he may not sleep on a mat or blanket; at the feast he must have no congress with his wife (Thurston, iv. 10 f.). In the Deccan he loses his power if his lamp goes out while he is eating, and thus leaves him exposed to demon assault; if he happens to hear a menstruous woman speak; if any one sweeps his room; if the name of any spirit is mentioned. Should any such events occur, he must stop eating and fast during the remainder of the day. He must avoid certain vegetables and fruits, and must never eat stale or twice-cooked food. If he be a Muslimān, he must not eat a special kind of millet, or food cooked by a menstruous woman (BG xxiv. 418).

(b) *Methods of identifying spirits by the medium.*—The medium uses varied methods of identifying the spirit which has seized his patient.

In the Panjāb he waves corn over the sick person, and, making a heap for each suspected demon, keeps on dropping grains that on which the last falls indicating the offender (N.I.N.Q. i. 128). The Berār medium hangs a string over a wood fire and repeats spells; when the smoke touches the string, the appropriate formula is indicated (P.N.Q. ii. 170). The Kāchāri medium lays out thirteen leaves, each assigned to a special god, and, hanging a pendulum from his thumb, lets it move; when it touches a particular leaf, that deity must be propitiated (Dalton, 85). In the Gujārāt an officiant tied charmed threads round the house, drove a charmed iron nail into the ground at each corner and two at the door; the house was purified; a Dev, or orthodox god, was installed, and before his image was placed a drawn sword, a lamp lit with butter, and a second lit with oil, while the medium continued to utter charms for forty-one days, and occasionally visited the cremation ground to make propitiatory offerings to the offended spirit. In another case the spirit was actually expelled, and buried under lime, salt, mustard, lead, and stones, to prevent him from 'walking'; and, as an additional precaution, a charmed iron nail was driven into the

ground. Fumigation of the patient with the smoke of pepper and dogs' dung, as a means of inconveniencing the demon, was also recommended (A. K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, p. 657 ff.).

8. Shamanism.—Such methods naturally develop into the practices which have been roughly classified under the head of Shamanism (*q.v.*), though this term is often applied to demonology in general. Bishop Caldwell recognizes various points of contact between the systematized methods of exorcism known as 'devil dancing' and 'devil driving' in S. India and the Shamanism of High Asia: the absence in both of a recognized priesthood; the recognition of a Supreme God to whom, as he is too kindly to do them harm, little worship is offered by the people; the absence of belief in metempsychosis; the objects of Shamanistic worship being not gods, but demons, which are regarded as cruel, revengeful, capricious, and are appeased by blood sacrifices and wild dances; the medium exciting himself to frenzy, and pretending, or supposing himself, to be possessed by the demon to whom worship is being offered, and whilst in this state communicating to those who consult him the information he has received (*Dravid. Gram.*, 1875, p. 580 ff.).

Performances of this kind are uncommon in N. India, except in the Himalaya and among other hill and forest tribes. In Kumaun, when a person believes himself to be possessed by a demon, he calls his friends to dance it away; the dance goes on daily for as long as six months in some cases, and, as an additional precaution, large fires are kept alight (Oakley, 207 f.). When the Garos do devil-driving, it is in the name of their god Kalkamā, who holds in his hands the spirits of men; sacrificial stoves are erected to him, and are smeared with the blood of the animal victim (Playfair, 82). The methods in use in S. India, where the system has been more fully elaborated, are of the same kind, and need not be more fully described. The basis of the performance is that the officiants, in dress, weapons, and ornaments, impersonate the demon whom they desire to propitiate and cause to depart. (See illustrations of such performers among the Parāyans and Panans of Cochin, in A. K. Iyer, i. 83, 178. Full details will be found in the writings of Bishops Caldwell and Whitehouse already quoted, and in A. C. Burnell, 'The Devil Worship of the Tulavās', *IA*, 1894.)

Blood-drinking.—The most loathsome incident in these rites is when the medium, in order to bring himself into communion with the deity or demon, and thus gain inspiration, drinks the blood of the sacrificed victim.

The low-caste Mādiga who impersonates the demon Viraveśin or Poturāja, 'buffalo king', kills the sacrificial goat by strangling it with his teeth and tearing the throat open (Oppert, 461, 476). The same rite is performed by other mediums of the same class (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 165 f.; Thurston, iv. 187; A. K. Iyer, i. 311). In N. India similar rites are found among the Tantrik mediums, as when, at the Bhairava festival in Nepal, a band of masked, yelling devils beset and torture the buffalo victim, drink the blood, and eat pieces of the raw, bleeding flesh (*PNQ* iii. 165; cf. the account in H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*, 1880, ii. 345 ff.). In some cases in S. India the victim is slightly wounded, and forced to eat rice soaked in its own blood; if it eats, the omen is good, but in any case the victim is slain (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 173). The blood is used as a charm, as at Trichinopoly, where clothes soaked in it are hung on the eaves of the houses to protect the cattle from disease; or it is smeared on the doorposts of the shrine, or collected in a vessel and laid before the goddess for her refreshment (*ib.* v. 173, 141, 164).

9. Worship of Guardians.—Particularly in S. India, the chief reliance for protection against demons is placed in the Guardians. These are, first, the Grāmadevatā, or local village-deities; secondly, the leaders of the hosts of evil spirits, who, by appropriate conciliation, can be induced to keep their demon bands under control, and prevent them from doing injury to mankind.

(a) *The Grāmadevatā.*—The Grāmadevatā, 'gods of the village', or, as they are called in N. India, the Dihwar (with the same meaning), are generally non-human spirits, though their ranks are sometimes recruited from those of human origin. They are often identified with the Earth Mother or with the wider host of Mothers (Mātā), the worship of whom prevails widely in W. India. (For Mother-worship, see A. Barth, *Religions of India*, 1882, p. 202 n.; Bishop Whitehouse, in *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 116 ff.; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 1891, p. 225 ff.). The connexion of this worship of the female powers with the matriarchy is not clearly established in India. But women are generally supposed to be more susceptible than men to spirit influence, and are mysterious beings charged with supernatural energy (Westermarck, i. 620, 666 ff.). Hence we find women participating in demon propitia-

tion. The Orāons believe that women, known as Bisahi, control the terrible Bhūta known as Dāyan. The woman who desires to acquire this power strips off her clothes (see above, vol. iii. p. 447), wears a girdle of broken twigs taken from a broom, and goes to a cave, the resort of the Dāyan. There she learns spells (*mantra*), and at each séance puts a stone into a hole. If at the end of a year the hole is full, she has become an expert, and can take away life and restore it. If the hole be only partially full, she has the power only of taking away life. Every year she is obliged to sacrifice a black cat and pour its blood into the hole. She and the Dāyan alone can set the Bhūta in action, and to these all diseases are attributed. When a child dies, any Bisahi in the village is charged with causing the death (*MAS* i. 144).

As examples of these village guardians we have Chappki or Chappkai, the low-caste Hindu guardian in the Deccan, who lives in marshes and attacks children. To appease her an image is made of earth taken from the banks of a river; offerings are made to it, and it is finally thrown into water (*BG* xxiv. 416). The field guardian of the Reddis of Bijapur lives in a stone under a sacred tree, which is smeared with red lead, and offerings are made before beginning ploughing (*ib.* xxiii. 147). Darhā is the guardian of the Birhors of Bengal, and is represented by a piece of bamboo stuck slantwise into the ground (Risley, i. 138). Naturally such village guardians are often embodied in the boundary stone. The chief object of worship of the Dāngs of Khāndesh is Simarī Dev, the boundary god, the Sewapriyā of the Bhuiyars (*BG* xii. 601; Crooke, *TC* ii. 93). The worship of boundaries (*simanta-pūjā*) is part of the orthodox marriage rite (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 129). In Tanjore the Ellai-kal, or boundary stone, is the subject of remarkable worship (*Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 117 f., 166 f.).

(b) *The demon Guardians.*—In S. India the chief of these is Aiyānar, 'honourable father', or, as he is also called, Sāsta or Sāstra, 'ruler' (Oppert, 508). Mounted on a horse or elephant, he rides sword in hand over hill and dale to clear the land from evil spirits; any one who meets him and his demon troop dies at once; when he is not ridgid, he appears as a red-coloured man, wearing a crown, with lines of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*) on his forehead, and richly dressed; he has two wives, Pūrnai and Pūdkai, who are worshipped with him (Oppert, 505; *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 118; A. K. Iyer, i. 312 f.). In the Himalaya the demons go about on horses, in litters, or on foot, led by Bhonānāth; death seizes any one meeting them; Airi patrols the land with his dogs (*JAS*, 1848, p. 609; Crooke, i. 262 f., 280; cf. the European legend of the Wild Huntsman, the Orion of Greek legend, Wuotan of Germany [Frazer, *Pausan.* v. 82; Grimm, iii. 918 ff., 941 f.]).

The Deccan guardian is Vetāla, who also appears as a goblin tenanted dead bodies (see the *Vetāla-pañchavāṇśatikā* included in Somadeva, *Kathā-sarīt-sāgara*, tr. C. H. Tawney; and Sir R. Burton, *Vikram and the Vampire*, 1870). He is represented in human form, but his hands and feet are turned backwards, his eyes tawny green, his hair standing on end; he holds a cane in his right hand and a conch-shell in his left; when he goes his rounds, he is dressed in green, and sits in a litter or rides a horse, while his attendants follow, holding lighted torches and shouting (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 291, xxiv. 415). In the villages, as a guardian, he occupies a stone smeared with red paint, the top roughly carved into a man's face; but more usually he resides in the pre-historic stone circles scattered over the hills, the centre stone representing the demon, and the surrounding pillars his attendants (*ib.* xviii. pt. i. 291, 553, pt. iii. 347, 358, xxiv. 415).

Like him is Bhairava or Bhairon, who seems to be in origin an old earth-god, the consort of the Mother. In his form as Kāl Bhairava he cures diseases caused by demons (*ib.* xi. 461, xiv. 73, xviii. pt. i. 289). As Bahiroba he is widely revered, and the Dhāngars of Sākara bury his image with the rich men of the tribe to protect them from evil spirits (*ib.* xi. 461, xiv. 73, xix. 105).

In N. India, where the belief in demons is less intense, the local village-deities, and, in particular, Hanumān, the monkey-god, are installed as guardians at the foundation of every settlement.

10. Periodical or occasional expulsion of evil spirits.—The periodical or occasional expulsion of evil spirits is as common among many Indian tribes as it is among other primitive races (Frazer, *GB* ii. 39 ff.).

This is often done at the close of the harvest season, which is regarded as a period of licence. About harvest time the Karenni of Upper Burma take a piece of smouldering wood from the house fire, place it on a bamboo, and carry it ceremonially outside the village; they are unable or unwilling to explain the object of the rite, but they say that it keeps off fever and other sickness from the house (*Gazetteer*, i. pt. i. 530). Among the Taungthas of the E. frontier there is a general cleaning up of the village after an epidemic, the place being surrounded with a cordon of fresh-spun white threads, and the blood of sacrificed animals scattered (T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, 1870, p. 196 f.). The people of Lower Burma expel the cholera demon by scrambling on the house roofs, laying about them with bamboos and billets of wood, drum-beating, trumpet-blowing, yells, and screams (C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma*, 1878, p. 233; Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, 1882, i. 282, ii. 105 ff.). Similar harvest-rites are found among the Ho and Mundāri tribes in Bengal and those of the N.W. frontier (Dalton, 196 f.; J. Bidulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, 1880, p. 103). At the annual

Maler feast the priest scatters rice; all persons supposed to be possessed with devils scramble for it, and are finally cured by drinking the blood of a sacrificed buffalo (Dalton, 270). The Kandhs practise a similar rite at seed-time (W. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service*, 1865, p. 357 f.). In Bengal, during the Holi spring festival, people light torches and fling them over the boundary of the next village, the custom often giving rise to riots (*PNQ* iv. 201). Even among many of the higher castes, like the Prabhūs of Bomhay, in order to expel evil spirits at a marriage, a servant rises early and sweeps the house, gathers the sweepings into a basket, lays on it an old broom, a light, some betel, and four copper coins, and waving the basket before each room says: 'May evil go, and Bali's kingdom come!' She then drives the master of the house to the door, and, warning him not to look back, places the sweepings on the roadside and brings back the coins (*BG* xviii. pt. i. 252 f.). In Upper India the Divālī, or feast of lights, is the occasion for observances of the same kind, the lamps scaring demons, and a regular rite of scaring poverty or ill-luck from the house being performed (*IA* xxxii. [1903] 237 f.; *NIHQ* v. 125; Crooke, ii. 138 f., 295 f.). Often these rites take the form of a mock combat or a tug of war, in which one party represents the good, and the other the evil, spirits, arrangements being made that the former shall be victorious. The Burmese Nāts are propitiated by a tug of war, the victorious side being supposed to get better crops; and if, after the contest, rain happens to fall, the efficacy of the appeal is placed beyond question; this is also done in seasons of drought (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, ii. pt. ii. 95, 279, iii. pt. ii. 64). Among the Aos of Assam, at a festival held in August, there are tugs of war lasting for three days between the young men and unmarried girls of each clan (*khet*) (E. A. Gait, *Census Rep. Assam*, 1891, i. 244). In Ahmadnagar, in April-May, the boys of one village fight with slings and stones against those of another; it is believed that the non-observance of the rite causes failure of rain, or, if rain falls, a plague of field rats; a fight duly waged is followed by plentiful rainfall (*BG* xvii. 722 f.; cf. the Greek *ἀσχρολογία* and *αἰσχρολογία* [Farnell, *COS* iii. 93, 99; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 1903, p. 155; Crooke, ii. 320 f.]).

11. Gaining control of a demon.—In the rites of Black Magic, a demon, if he can be brought under the control of a medium or magician, plays an important part; he may be used as a protector by his master, or his owner may let him loose to work mischief on those whom he desires to injure. The magician, by the use of spells (*mantra*), can often induce him to enter some receptacle, and he thus becomes a marketable commodity.

'When the sale of a Bhūt has been arranged, the Ojhā hands over a corked bamboo cylinder which is supposed to contain him. This is taken to the place, usually a tree, where it is intended that he should in future reside; a small ceremony is performed, liquor being poured on the ground, or small mounds (*piṇḍā*) erected in his honour, and the cork is then taken out, whereupon the Bhūt is supposed to take up his abode in the place chosen for him. His function is to watch the crops and guard them from thieves, and, if any one should be hardy enough to steal from a field thus guarded, he is certain to be stricken by the Bhūt, and in a few days will sicken and die' (E. A. Gait, *Census Rep. Bengal*, 1901, i. 198). Among the Pullavans of Madras, 'a man who wishes to bring a demon under his control must bathe in the morning for forty-one days, and cook his own meals. He should have no association with his wife, and be free from all pollution. Every night, after 10 o'clock, he should bathe in a tank or river, and stand naked up to the loins in water, while praying to the god whom he wishes to propitiate, in the words: "I offer thee my prayers, so that thou mayst bless me with what I want." These, with his thoughts concentrated on the deity, he should utter 101, 1001, and 100,001 times during the period. Should he do this, in spite of all obstacles, and intimidation by the demons, the god will grant his desires' (Thurston, vi. 231). In Mysore, among the Hasnals and Maleyas, jungle tribes, when a man dies, his spirit is supposed to be stolen by some one else's devil, who is pointed out by the astrologer, who divines by throwing cowrie-shells or rice. The heir, then, as a measure of precaution, redeems the spirit by offering a pig, fowl, or other gift; and he promptly shuts it up in a pot, where it is periodically supplied with drink and food to prevent it from 'walking' and doing mischief (B. L. Rice, *Mysore*, 1897, i. 214; cf. 'The Fisherman and the Jinii', Sir E. Burton, *Arabian Nights*, 1893, i. 34 f.; *PNQ* i. 170). The power of a demon is believed to rest in his hair, and if a man can succeed in cutting off the topknot of a Bhūt, the latter will be his slave for life (*NIHQ* iii. 150). In Travancore, Kuttich-chāttan, the boy-imp, if fed, watches the property of his owner; the master of such a demon possesses infinite powers of evil; but these, if wrongly exercised, recoil upon him, and cause him to die childless and after terrible physical and mental agony (N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Census Rep.*, 1901, i. 303). Suldharājā, the great Chalukya king of W. India, is said to have performed his acts of heroism by aid of a demon which he subdued by riding a corpse in a cemetery (*BG* i. pt. i. 174).

12. Relation of demonology to orthodox religion.—From Vedic times the gods ever war against the demons (A. Macdonell, 156 f.). Kṛṣṇa slays the demoness Pūtānā; Tṛṇāvartta, the whirlwind demon; Aṛiṣṭa, the bull demon; Keśin,

the horse demon (F. S. Growse, *Mathura*², 1883, pp. 55, 62). Many gods and goddesses take their cult-titles from their conquest of demons; Devī as Mahiṣa-mardini, Indra as Vṛtrahan, Viṣṇu as Kaitabhajit and Madhusūdāna. The scenes of these ghostly combats are still shown, like the gloomy cave at Yān in Kanara, whence Śiva dislodged the demon occupant; the water which flows from hot springs is the blood of the Rākṣasas slain by some deity, or such wells are the haunts of demons which, if not conciliated, bring disease (*BG* xv. pt. ii. 355, xiv. 373; L. A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, 1899, p. 203). This opposition between the worker by magical arts and the priest who works by the aid of the gods is one of the primary facts of Hinduism (Sir A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*², 1907, i. 101 f.). Even among some of the forest tribes the supremacy of the god over the demon is admitted; but, as already stated, no clear distinction can be drawn between god and demon. The Orāons believe that their tutelary deity, Pāt, controls all the Bhūts, except the Dāyan; and the Kannikans of Madras will not worship the demon Chāthan at Cranganore because he is a rival of the local orthodox god (*MASB*, 1906, i. 142; A. K. Iyer, i. 143).

But, as a matter of fact, this opposition between demonolatri and the orthodox religion is little more than nominal, and popular Hinduism consists of a veneer of the higher beliefs overlying demon-worship, the latter being so closely combined with the former that it is now impossible to discriminate the rival elements. This combination is especially apparent in S. India, where Brāhmanism appeared at a comparatively recent period and was forced to come to terms with the local Dravidian beliefs. In particular, in the Tamil districts, the demon cultus has been elaborated under Brāhman guidance, as is shown by the ceremonial washing of demon images, elaborate processions in their honour, and other forms of an advanced species of worship. While the original Grāmadevatā are, as a rule, female, here their male consorts tend to acquire a more prominent position. Aiyānār, for instance, has become entirely independent, occupies a shrine of his own, and has a special festival, and sacrifices are made to his attendants, Maduravīraṇ and Mūn-adian. As a concession to Brāhman feeling, blood sacrifices are falling into abeyance, and, when these are offered to a goddess, she is often veiled, and a curtain is drawn during the blood-sacrifice to Aiyānār, or the offering is made not to him but to one of his attendants (Bishop Whitehead, *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. 160). In some places Brāhman are beginning to act as priests to the village goddesses; but the slaying of victims is left in charge of the low-caste priests; and Brāhman who serve in village shrines are regarded, among their own body, as holding a distinctly lower position than those who are engaged in secular pursuits (*ib.* 127 f.). The fusion of the two faiths usually manifests itself in the acceptance by the orthodox gods of the demons as their followers or assistants. This is particularly noticeable in the Śākta and Śaiva cultus, Vaiṣṇavism having little sympathy with the cruder rites of demonism. The village goddesses tend to become Śaktis, or manifestations of the female energy of Nature; Śiva himself has, as one of his cult-titles, Bhūteśvara or Bhūteśa, 'lord of demons'; his son Gaṇeśa or Gaṇpati takes his name as lord of his father's attendant demons (*gana*); in the Karnatak, Aiyānār is identified with Harihara, a duplex figure embodying Śiva and Viṣṇu.

The corrupt Mahāyāna form of Buddhism current in Tibet and the Hīmalaya has largely adopted Shamanistic beliefs, drawn from the Animistic devil-dancing cults of the Bön, resembling in many

ways the Taoism of China, and reinforced from Indian Tāntrik beliefs (L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 1895, pp. 19, 34, 477; Sir H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1871, ii. 61 f.).

This process of the absorption of demonolatry by orthodox Hinduism naturally results in the decrease of the former, as intelligence, education, and the active missionary efforts of the orthodox priesthood extend. This is admitted by several native writers. One, speaking of Bengal, states that the numbers of the Bhūts have largely been reduced; fifty years ago there were as many millions of demons as there are men at the present time; characteristically, he seems to attribute this reduction in numbers to the facilities now offered by railways of visiting Gaya and other places for the purpose of performing the obsequial rites which appease the angry spirits of the dead (*NINQ* iii. 199). From Bombay we learn that in Kolhapur some of the most dreaded evil spirits have recently disappeared—the Brahman ghosts having left the country because they dislike the cow-killing permitted by the British Government; the Muhammadan demons because pork is now freely eaten; only the low-caste spirits are left, and their influence has become much reduced (*BG* xxiv. 421). Even in Cochin and Travancore, the homes of demon-worship, it is said to be gradually giving way to Hinduism, as represented by the cults of Siva, Subrahmanya, and Ganpati or Gaṇeśa (A. K. Iyer, i. 311).

LITERATURE.—The cults of the demons and evil spirits of India have been as yet imperfectly studied, because many of these rites are repulsive, and performed in secret, and thus do not readily come under the observation of Europeans, while they are offensive to many students of Hinduism belonging to the higher and learned classes. The material, which is of great extent and complexity, is scattered through the anthropological literature of India, some of which has been quoted in the course of this article. It is most abundant in S. India. Much information will be found in the *Census Reports*; the *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, 1855-93; the *Bulletins of the Madras Museum*; the *District Manuals*, esp. that by W. Logan on Malabar, 1887; general treatises, such as E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, 1909; V. N. Aiyar, *Travancore State Manual*, 1906; B. L. Rice, *Mysore*, 1897; F. Buchanan, *A Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, 1807; L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, vol. i. (all published), 1909; P. Percival, *The Land of the Veda*, 1854; S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, 1871; R. Caldwell, *Compar. Gram. of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*², 1875, in which and in B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods*, 1869, the work of the former writer on the Śāṇārs of Tinnevely is reproduced; G. Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsa or India*, 1893; Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*⁴, 1891; in A. K. Forbes, *Rās Malā*, 1878, is reproduced the *Bhoot Nibandh or the Destroyer of Superstitions regarding Daimons*, by Trivedi Dāpatrām Dāya, issued in an Eng. tr. in 1860. To these may be added special monographs, such as P. Dehon, S.J., 'Religion and Customs of the Uraons,' in *Men. As. Soc. Bengal*, i. (1906); A. C. Burnell, *The Devil Worship of the Tulavas*, reprinted from *IA*, 1894; H. Whitehead, 'The Village Deities of Southern India,' in *Bull. Madr. Mus.* v. (1907); M. J. Walhouse, 'On the Belief in Bhūtas—Devil and Ghost Worship in Western India,' in *JAI* v. (1876) 408.

W. CROOKE.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Jain).—Superhuman beings, according to the Jains, fall into two categories—the denizens of hell (*nārakas*), and the gods (*devas*). A sub-division of the latter distinguishes good and bad gods (*daivī*, and *āsuri gati*); the bad gods are also spoken of as *kudevas* or *kadamāras*. Demons would come under the two heads *nārakas* and *kudevas*, and ghosts under that of *kudevas*. It must, however, be kept in mind that, according to the Jains, neither the state of a god nor that of a demon is permanent, but both have their individually fixed duration, which may extend to many 'oceans of years.' The state which a soul may attain in the scale of beings and the duration of this state—his individual lot—depend on the merits and demerits (*karma*) of the soul; when the allotted time is over, the soul will be re-born in some other state according to his *karma*.

A god may be re-born as a hell-being, but the latter will be re-born as an animal or a man only.

The *nārakas*, or hell-beings, have a demoniacal nature, but they cannot leave the place where they are condemned to live, nor can they do harm to any other beings than their fellow *nārakas*. The souls of those who have committed heinous sins are on death removed in a few moments (see **DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Jain)**) to one of the seven nether worlds which contain the different hells (see **COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian)**, § 4). There the soul of the condemned is fitted out with an enormous body of a loathsome shape comparable to that of a plucked fowl. The hell-beings possess superhuman mental powers (*avadhi*); they avail them, however, only to find out their enemies and to fight each other. In addition to the pains produced by the wounds they inflict on one another and by the tortures they have to undergo in some hells, the hell-beings continually suffer from extreme heat or cold, the intolerable stink, and the horrid sounds which prevail in the hells, and they can never appease their hunger and thirst. The *nārakas* do not die, however much they are mangled; but their wounds close at once like a furrow in water. They die at their allotted time after a miserable life, which may extend, in the lowest hell, to 33 oceans of years.

The remaining demons and the ghosts are contained in the two lowest sub-divisions of the gods: the *bhavanavāsins* or *bhaumeyakas*, and the *vyantaras*. The lowest class of the *bhavanavāsins* (i.e. gods who live in palaces) are the *asurakumāras* or simply *asuras*. They reside in mansions of their own below the surface of the earth, in the upper half of *Ratnaprabhā*, the highest of the seven nether worlds. As in Hindu mythology, the *asuras* may be good or bad; but there are fifteen extremely wicked *asuras*—Ambariṣa, etc.—who administer tortures in the three uppermost hells; in a former life they had delighted in wanton cruelty. The remaining classes of *bhavanavāsins*, *nāgas*, etc., seem to be demi-gods rather than demons.

The *vyantaras* include demons, goblins, ghosts, and spirits, who live on, above, or below the earth. They are divided into eight classes, viz. *kinnaras*, *kimpurūṣas*, *mahoragas*, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *bhūtas*, and *piśāchas*, all of which occur almost identically in Hindu mythology. The last four classes contain demons and ghosts, but they are not demoniacal as a whole. There are even among the *rākṣasas* good ones, adorers of the *tīrthakaras*, who may take *dikṣā*, etc. In narratives the demoniacal character is usually indicated by an epithet, e.g. *duṣṭa-vyantara*. Generally speaking, the notions of the Jains on demons, ghosts, etc., are very much the same as those of the other Hindus; but the position of the superhuman beings has been, in many regards, altered by the efforts of the Jains to introduce systematical order into the mythological conceptions current at the time when their religious teachings were reduced to a definite form.

LITERATURE.—Umāśvātī's *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*, chs. 3 and 4 (tr. *ZDMG* lx. [1906] 309 ff.); Vinayavijaya's *Lokaprakāśa*, 1906, 9th and 10th sargas.

H. JACOB.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Japanese).—1. Ghosts.—'The difficulty,' says a Japanese writer, 'of collecting materials for an article about ghosts is that there are so many of them.' Ghosts and ghost-stories are too numerous to admit of tabulation or classification. There are certain traditional forms which they are supposed to assume. They are mostly of the female sex, are clad in white flowing robes which conceal the

absence of legs, and dishevelled hair hangs loosely over their shoulders. As a rule they are supposed to bear some resemblance to the living original, but this is not invariably the case. The ghosts of the wicked bear on themselves the marks of the punishments they are enduring in the invisible world: they appear with one eye, or three eyes, with a long tongue protruding beyond their lips, or with a long flexible neck like that of a serpent. These corporeal peculiarities are supposed to be the results of the *karma* of a previous existence. The Japanese ghost is not generally malicious: there are times, however, when he can exhibit an amazing amount of perverse and wicked ingenuity.

Dr. T. Inouye, who has devoted much thought to the question of ghosts, summarizes their appearances as follows. (1) They are commonly seen in the twilight or at dead of night when everything is black and indistinct. They appear, (2) as a rule, in lonely or solitary places; or (3) in houses recently visited by death, or that have long been deserted, in shrines, temples, graveyards, or among the shadows of willow-trees. It is very rarely that a ghost appears to a group of persons; apparitions are mostly vouchsafed to single individuals, and especially to persons out of health, feeble in body and mind, deficient in knowledge, and impressionable. There is nothing specially new in Inouye's conclusions: they are given here to show that the Japanese ghost is very much what the ghost is supposed to be elsewhere.

2. Warnings of approaching death.—It is common among temple folk in Japan to say that at the moment of death the soul will often go to the temple to give notice of its death. On such occasions, a jingling or rattling sound is heard by the temple-gate or in the main hall of worship, and it is held that whenever these sounds are heard they are invariably followed by the announcement that a parishioner, male or female, has died. The man from whom the present writer obtained his information warned him that these stories must not be looked upon as mere idle tales. The thing is of constant occurrence, now as in the past. Two stories from *Tōno Monogatari* will illustrate this point.

A certain rich parishioner of a temple in the township of Tōno, in the province of Rikuchū, had long been confined to his bed with a disease which was known to be incurable. One day, however, the incumbent of the temple was surprised to receive a visit from the sick man, who was welcomed with the greatest cordiality, and regaled with tea and cakes. After a long and pleasant conversation, the visitor rose to take his leave. A novice followed him to the front gate. The old man, passing through it, turned suddenly to the right and disappeared mysteriously from sight. The servitors in the temple were in the meantime making the discovery that the cakes had been left untouched and the tea spilled on the mats. Several persons afterwards asserted that they had seen the old gentleman walking mysteriously down the street. The man died that evening, and the family maintained that he had been lying unconscious on his bed all day. The spilling of the tea is characteristic of many of these stories: it seems to be the proper thing for the Japanese ghosts to do.

Another very pretty story comes from the lonely mountain village of Shimo Niigawa, on the banks of the Karobe In Etchin. The wife of a carrier, living with her husband and son, near to a mineral spring, fell into the river, as she was returning after dark on a moonless night from the spring, and was drowned. Husband and son were awaiting her return at home, very anxious because of the lateness of the hour. Finally, they concluded that, owing to the darkness, she had decided to stay the night somewhere, and would return the next morning. As the boy lay dozing on his bed he was awakened by something tugging at his hand. Seeing nothing, he went to sleep again. But the tug at his hand came again, and the touch was like that of his mother's hand. Then he called his father, and, striking a light, found that the place upon which the strange fingers had closed was covered with blood. The next morning his mother's dead body was found among the rocks in the river bed. The palm of her hand was all torn and bleeding. Evidently, in her fall, she had made a wild grab at some stone or tree, and injured it.

3. The limbs of a ghost.—While the common ghost, and especially the stage-ghost, is generally

conceived as a head and shoulders ending off in vague draperies, the following story of the Haunted House of Yotsuya will show that underneath the vague draperies a real man is supposed to exist.

The house in this story was haunted by a troublesome and noisy ghost who allowed the inmates no rest at night. The landlord could find no tenant though the rent was ridiculously low. At last a man, tempted by the cheap rent asked for the otherwise desirable residence, determined to face the ghost and lay him if possible. He shut himself into the house at night and awaited the ghost's arrival. At the wonted hour he came. He was not, however, a terrible ghost at all. When he found that the man showed no disposition to run away he became quite gentle and opened his grief. In the days of his flesh he had been a fighting man, and had had the misfortune to lose his leg as the result of one of his battles. The severed limb lay buried beneath the house, and a one-legged ghost in the realm of the spirits was an object of ridicule. He had long haunted the house for the purpose of recovering his lost limb, but unfortunately he had never yet succeeded in persuading any mortal to listen to his plaint. The man promised to give his assistance, and, instructed by the ghost, proceeded to dig at a certain spot beneath the house. Presently, there arose from the hole a misty shape, a fleecy cloud, in appearance like the leg of a man which drifted off, and joined itself to the body of the ghost. 'Thank you,' said the happy ghost, 'I am satisfied now.' And he ceased to haunt the house. The story shows that the Japanese ghost is thought of as being the exact spiritual counterpart of the material man.

4. Ghostly counterparts of material objects.—The Japanese ghost rarely (if ever) appears naked. He appears sometimes in his grave-clothes, but very frequently in the ghostly counterparts of the clothes which he habitually wore in his material life. He often has a spiritual sword, and has been known in stories to commit murder, e.g. strangling, with the ghostly counterparts of material objects, such as a rope or a piece of tough paper.

A Kyōto story, dating from the Kyōhō era (A.D. 1716-1735), tells of a murdered woman who was buried along with her newborn infant, the latter not being truly dead at the time of interment. Prompted by maternal instinct, the ghost of the woman escaped from the tomb and went into the city to buy food for her infant. Two or three times she appeared at a certain shop and purchased some rice-jelly. On each occasion she was served by a different member of the family—by an apprentice, by the mistress, and finally by the master. The sadness of her face impressed itself on the memory of each, and each had a distinct recollection of having seen the woman take out of her purse the proper sum of money and lay it down on the mat before her. In each case, when, after the departure of the woman, they went to take up the money, it had disappeared and could nowhere be found.

It is evident that the Japanese ghost is thought of as surrounded by ghostly counterparts of all the objects that surround him in this world—in other words, there is, in the Japanese mind, a spiritual world which is the exact counterpart of the material world in which we live.

5. Close connexion between the two worlds.—These two worlds are looked upon as being very closely connected. The spiritual world lies as near to the material, and is as closely interwoven with it, as the spirit of man is with his body. The link of connexion is never broken, and the Japanese ghost feels the same keen interest in the welfare of his family, province, or country that he felt when alive.

There are many stories to illustrate this: for example, one recently published by Viscount Tani in the *Kokumin Shimben*, of a certain Hamada Rokunōjō, a *samurai* of the Tosa clan, who, having been beheaded (A.D. 1674) with his whole family on account of embezzlement of provincial funds, appeared to his judge on the day following the execution, to relieve himself of an important message which oppressed his mind. In many stories, the constant persecutions of a stepmother worry her hated stepson into a monastery, where he can have no further influence over the family finances. A pious priest of Heizan, who had spent many years in the continuous recitation of the Hoke Kyō, edifies (or annoys?) the community by continuing the same practice in the darkness of the tomb. The ghost of a murdered man gives no rest to judges, councillors, or kinsfolk, until he has secured the acquittal of a wrongfully accused person and the arrest of his own guilty brother.

These are but a few instances out of the many ghost stories with which Japanese literature and folk-lore abound. Whether the tales are true or not does not matter. The important thing is that they all illustrate the constant belief of the

Japanese in the reality of the spirit world, and in the constant and close interest which its denizens take in the concerns of men.

6. Effects of this belief on conduct.—‘Are you not ashamed,’ says a kind-hearted husband, in one of Tokutomi’s novels, to his spiteful wife,—‘are you not ashamed to stand before the family *ihai* [tablets of the dead], when you have been treating your own brother’s child with such cruelty?’ There can be no doubt that the belief in the continued interest taken by the dead in the concerns of the world they have left behind them has exerted in the past, and still exerts, a great influence on the moral conduct of the individual Japanese. The influence is fostered by the presence on the domestic shrine of the tablets of the dead, by the observances on death-days and other anniversaries of the dead, by the ceremonies, joyous and otherwise, of the Urabon Festival, by the many lustrations of the Shinto rites, and by the practice, observed in private households as in the great affairs of State, of announcing to the spirits of the deceased, as matters that must touch them closely, any events of importance that have taken place in the family circle or the country. When the second Tokugawa Shōgun, Hidetada, wished to change the succession in his family, he was only dissuaded from his designs by the consideration of the fact that he would have to notify the change by some messenger sent expressly to the realms of the dead. Imperial messengers are constantly being sent to announce some event to the spirits of the Imperial Ancestors, and the Shōkonsha shrines which, during the present reign, have been erected in Tokyo and elsewhere, to the memory of the patriot dead who have died for sovereign or country during the Meiji period, represent the enlargement by design of an old belief that has always been present in Japan under one form or another. The spiritual world of the Japanese is no longer bounded by the narrow limits of the province. Like their patriotism, it has become Imperial: for what lies outside the bounds of the Empire the Japanese have but little concern.

7. The spirits of material objects.—The Japanese ghost differs from ours in conception. It is not, as with us, just the spiritual *portion* of a man, separated at death from the body. It is the *whole man* spiritualized, the exact, immaterial counterpart of the material man. Every material object (*e.g.* money, as we saw above) has this spiritual counterpart, and there has from the earliest times been a tendency to personify the spiritual counterparts of material objects, especially things remarkable for beauty, majesty, age, and the like. We hear occasionally of the ghost of a teapot, a badger, or the like; the poetic imagination of the Japanese has peopled her wilds with gods or spirits of the mountain, the cascade, the tree, the well, the river, the moon, and above all, the sun. The indigenous Japanese cult is threefold. It is nature-worship, ancestor-worship, and, as a corollary to the latter, ruler-worship.

8. The spirits of animals.—If man has a spiritual counterpart to his material self capable of leaving the latter and of continuing its existence apart, and if the same can be said of plants, mountains, and other inanimate bodies, it stands to reason that the same qualities ought, logically, to be attributed to the animals. All animals are, in Japanese popular thought, thus endowed with spiritual counterparts, and some more conspicuously than others. Foxes, badgers, bears, and the like are able not only to appear before the eye in the spiritual counterpart of their own material shape, but even to enter into the bodies of men and other animals, and to speak and act through them.

The fox.—The fox is the hero of a thousand stories. He has, *e.g.*, been known to change himself into a tree. In a legend from Nara we read of a Shinto priest from the Kasuga shrine who, having lost his horse, went into the forest to search for it. He was astonished to see a giant cryptomeria in a place where none had stood only a few days before, and, in order to make sure that he was not being bewitched, discharged his arrow against the tree. The next day the tree had disappeared, but on the place where it had stood there was a poor little dead fox with an arrow through its heart. Again, the fox has been known to turn into a woman, not only as a temporary disguise, but permanently; and there is a popular play known as the *Shinoda no mori*, or ‘Forest of Shinoda,’ which turns entirely on the supposed marriage of a man with a vixen who had assumed the form of a young woman. The plot has an extremely sad and tragic dénouement. The story of the midwife who was tricked by a fox into assisting at the accouchement of his wife is also a favourite one which may be found in many districts.

The cult of the fox, whilst probably indigenous to Japan, is also found in China, and many of the fox-legends are probably importations. When the fox can find a human skull, and put it on its head, and then worship Myōken, the polar star, it obtains its power of assuming the human form. It is very fond of assuming the shape of a beautiful maiden, and chooses the twilight for the exercise of its witchery. The witchery of a fox is rarely of a malicious kind. It has indeed been known to deal swift and sharp retribution to men for acts of injustice and cruelty, but it is, as a rule, mischievous rather than spiteful, and there are not a few instances in which the fox has shown great gratitude. There are no stories which tell of the fox requiring good with evil; but it never omits to requite evil with evil.

A story from Kai tells of a *samurai* who shot at a fox with intent to kill. He missed his aim, but the fox did not forget the hostile intention, and when the *samurai* got home he found his house on fire. On the other hand, a story from Ōmi tells of the gratitude of the fox to whom the priests had shown kindness; and the great Nichireo, who had a very tender heart for animals, was said to have two familiar and attendant foxes who accompanied him everywhere, predicting the future, and warning him of coming dangers. A story is also told of a certain Yasumichi, who held the office of Daiisagon and resided at Takakura, near Kyōto. The grounds surrounding his mansion were so full of foxes that they became a nuisance to the neighbourhood, and Yasumichi was minded to get rid of them. He appointed a day for a great fox-hunt; but, on the evening before, a fox appeared to him in the shape of a handsome boy, and, in the name of the whole tribe, promised the best of behaviour if only Yasumichi would spare them. Yasumichi did so, and never repented of the bargain.

For further stories relating to the power of metamorphosis ascribed to the fox, as well as for similar stories relating to other animals, the reader is referred to M. W. de Visser’s excellent treatises on the ‘Tengu,’ the ‘Fox and Badger,’ and the ‘Cat and Dog,’ in Japanese folk-lore, appearing in vols. xxxvi. and xxxvii. of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*.

9. Possession by foxes and other animals.—What we have hitherto said has related to the supposed power of the fox and certain other animals of bewitching men by assuming phantom bodies. In fox-possession, the spirit of the animal intrudes itself into the body of a man or woman, in such a way that the intruding spirit exercises a control, more or less absolute, over the person in whose body it resides. This power is ascribed not only to the fox, but to the dog, the monkey, the badger, and the serpent. Strange to say, these beliefs are more prevalent in Kyūshū and S.W. Japan than in the North and North-eastern districts, and it seems not unnatural to ascribe them to Malay rather than to Chinese or Mongolian influences. The following is a list of the names commonly given to these forms of possession, together with the localities in which they are said to be especially found:

Name.	Locality.
<i>Kitsune-tsuki</i> , ‘fox-possession’	No definite locality.
<i>Nekogami</i> , ‘cat-god’	“
<i>Tanuki-gami</i> , ‘badger-god’	“
<i>Inugami</i> , ‘dog-god’	Bitchū, Awa, Tosa, and parts of Kyūshū.

Nama.	Locality.
<i>Sarigami</i> , 'monkey-god' . . .	Shikoku.
<i>Hebigami</i> , 'serpent-god' . . .	Iyo.
<i>Tobyō</i> (meaning unknown). . .	Bitchū, Bingo.
<i>Hinomisaki</i> (These two are forms of <i>Kitsune-tsuki</i> .)	
<i>Ninkō</i> , 'human fox' . . .	Izumo.
<i>Izuna</i> , " . . .	Shinano.
[<i>Oni-tsuki</i> , or 'demon-possession,' in the strictest sense of the term, and possession by <i>Tengu</i> , are omitted here, as they will be discussed later on. The reader is again recommended to study de Visser's illuminating pages.]	

10. *Oni*.—This is the name given to a certain class of supposed beings of hideous aspect and Herculean strength. They often assume the human form, with the addition of a pair of bull's horns, and a tiger's skin thrown around their loins. These two special symbols denote, so it is said, that they came into the world of men through the *kimon*, or 'spirit-gate,' which, following the arrangement of the Japanese zodiac, is situated in the *ushi-tora* ('bull-tiger') direction (see below).

The word *oni* is said to be of Chinese origin, and to denote 'hidden' or 'secret.' It is therefore connected in idea with the Japanese *kakureru*, 'to go into concealment,' used of the death of eminent persons, and it is thus plain that the primary conception of the *oni* is that they are the spirits of the dead. The oldest purely Japanese term seems to have been *mono* ('the beings,' an euphemism based on the idea of *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*); *arakami*¹ or *araburukami* ('wild spirits'), and *shikome* ('ngly women'), appear to have been used later, and later again we get the word *mononoke* ('spiritual beings'). Many Japanese will say that *mono* or *mononoke* are essentially evil beings, but there seems to be no inherent reason for such a supposition. A still more modern word is *bake-mono* ('beings possessed of magical powers'). These words show the beliefs of the Japanese regarding the dead. Death is liberation from the trammels of fleshly existence. The dead, therefore, possessing greater freedom, have larger powers than the living, though their existence is hidden from our eyes. They are the *kishin* or the *kami*, dwelling in the dark regions of *yomi*. But there are many different types of *oni*, and some of them, unable to rest in the dull peace of Elysium, turn to more active employments. In the *Kojiki*, the *yomotsu shikome* drive Izanagi out of Hades; and the *araburukami*, changing himself into a bear, is slain by a celestial thunderbolt discharged by Takemikadzuchi.

11. The *oni* as modified by Confucianism and Buddhism.—The introduction into Japan of Chinese and Indian influences brought with it certain modifications of the *oni*. The *Kojiki* itself is a book largely influenced by China; it is, therefore, possible that the idea of the *yomotsu shikome* may not be a purely Japanese one. To Buddhism is certainly due the idea which makes of the *oni* the attendants of the god of Hell, Yama. In a story in the *Ujijū Monogatari* they appear as fairies, amidst surroundings which are almost German.

An old woodcutter, who has a large wen upon his right cheek, is overtaken by a storm and compelled to pass the night in a hollow tree. Unintentionally, he becomes a spectator of the revels of the *oni*, who dance around his tree. The old man, who is a good dancer himself, joins in the dance, and, after a very delightful night, promises to come again to his new-made friends. The *oni* are a little doubtful as to his sincerity, and take the wen off his right cheek as a pledge. When he returns, he becomes an object of envy to his neighbour, who is also a woodcutter, and who has also a wen, but on his left cheek. The neighbour determines that he will also try his luck, and takes his place in the hollow tree to wait for the *oni* dance to commence. But he is not a good dancer, and the *oni* lose their tempers. They drive

him out of the dance ring, and, as he flees, one of them takes the wen which they had taken from his predecessor and throws it at his right cheek, where it sticks. Thus the man returns home with a wen on either cheek.

Some of the tricks ascribed to the *oni*, such as the stealing of a lute belonging to the Emperor Murakami (A.D. 947-968), which is afterwards mysteriously lowered by invisible hands from a high tower, and so restored, seem to suggest a credulity that was easily imposed upon. When a woman disappeared from a public park in Kyōto, being last seen walking hand in hand with a man, and when a search made for her resulted only in the discovery of a pair of arms and a leg, the police of the period (A.D. 885-889) were probably very glad to be able to plead that it was the work of the *oni*. An oil-pot, rolling of its own accord along the streets, and entering a house, where it kills a young girl, ought to satisfy the most exacting of spiritualistic séances.

12. The word *oni* as applied to living persons.—Whilst *oni* corresponds roughly to the *ki* of Confucianism, or to the *gaki*, or inhabitants of the Buddhist *Prêtaloka*, it is also sometimes metaphorically applied to living people. Thus we get *oni-musha*, 'a fierce warrior'; *oni-shōgun*, 'a daring general'; *oni-kage*, 'a spirited horse.' A beautiful but hard-hearted woman is an *oni*, an ugly, evil face is *oni-zura*, and there is a phrase, *oni no jūhachi*, which suggests that the devil was a handsome enough fellow in his youth.

13. Adaptations of Indian stories.—The Japanese *oni* is sometimes conceived of as playing the part of Māra, the Tempter, who so constantly comes between Buddha and his disciples, and who is the enemy of truth. More frequently he is the Yakṣa or Rākṣasa of Indian demonology. It has been conjectured that the *Onigashima* of the popular Japanese story is the Yakṣadvīpa of the Jātakas. In the same story, the *onitaiji*, or attack on the demons, is said to be an adaptation of Rāma's invasion of Ceylon, as given in the Mahābhārata.

14. *Tengu*.—We now come to the consideration of the mysterious beings known as *tengu*. The popular explanation of this term is 'heavenly dog'; but the word also appears as *tenko*, 'heavenly fox,' and *tenkō*, 'heavenly light.' The Buddhist explanation of the word *tengu* is 'light and darkness,' 'freedom and non-freedom,' 'enlightenment and error.' Thus considered, the *tengu* is a being in whom are united both sides of these antitheses. A similar interpretation makes *ten* to be the heavenly *mantra* which dominates the Vajradhātu, or Diamond World, and *gu* to be the earthly *mantra* which rules in the Garbhadhātu, or Womb World. The *tengu* participates in the nature of both worlds.

Shintoist and Confucianist writers, Baron Tsuda, for example, do not hesitate to denounce the *tengu* as nothing but figments invented by a crafty priesthood for the purpose of deceiving an ignorant people. It is, nevertheless, interesting to speculate on the sources from which the conception of these fabled creatures came. The *tengu* is frequently found in Chinese literature, and it may perhaps be said that the idea of these beings came from a close observation of animals in their native haunts. The Buddhist monks of old generally built their temples in the recesses of solitary mountains, and one of the commonest of the titles bestowed on the founder of a temple or sect is that of *kaisan-shōnin*, 'the venerable opener of the mountain.' Japanese legend connects all the great *kaisan*, e.g. Saichō, Kōbō, Nichiren, etc., with stories of the *tengu*, and the favourite haunts of these creatures are famous temples, such as Hiyei, Kurama, Atago, Kōmpira, Ōmine, Ontake, Ōyama, Miyōgi, Akiha, and Nikkō. The frolicsome antics of animals who believe themselves to be absolutely unobserved by human eyes might easily give birth to legends of

¹ In the days of the anti-Christian persecutions, Christian emblems and books were occasionally saved from desecration by being shut up in shrines dedicated to supposed *arakami*, where they were safe, owing to the superstitious fears of the people. The present writer has been told of a crucifix which was thus treated; also of a copy of the Christian Scriptures.

tengu and other weird beings. There would also be ground for imagining that some of the staidier of the brute creation were re-incarnations of *yama-bushi* and other pious recluses.

15. *Garuda*.—Undoubtedly the *tengu* are connected with the *Garuda* of Buddhist mythology. *Tengu* will appear as priests, riding on foxes, carrying feather fans, or even swords like *samurai*; but their commonest form is that of a bird of prey not unlike an eagle or a vulture.¹ It is a safe generalization to make, that, whenever a *tengu* is represented with the beak and claws of a bird, or with wings to fly with, the prototype is the *Garuda*. When the *tengu* takes some other form, e.g. a shooting star, a white badger, and so forth, the original conception is to be looked for, not in India, but in China. But, whether Indian or Chinese, the *tengu* are always subject to the sacerdotal power of the Buddhist priesthood. Some have been Buddhist priests before their present incarnation; some become converted as *tengu*, and so procure re-birth as members of the order. They can hypnotize men into seeing many things that have no existence, but their power does not last for more than a week. When the Sabbath Day comes, their power comes to an end.

16. *Tengu*-possession.—*Tengu*-possession differs in kind from that by *oni*, or any of the bewitching animals. There is no mischief in it, and no devilry. When a man is obsessed by a *tengu*, he merely becomes preternaturally learned or solemn, reading, writing, or fencing with a skill that would not be expected from him.

17. Exorcism.—When a man is possessed by a *tengu*, exorcism is of little importance. For possession by evil spirits, foxes, badgers, and the like, there are many forms of exorcism in vogue, the sect of Nichiren being especially noted for its labours in this kind of healing. The most famous place near Tokyo is at the village of Nakayama, where, at a certain temple belonging to the Nichiren sect, periodical retreats are held for the purpose of driving out evil spirits of all kinds (see an art. on 'Buddhistische Gnadensmittel,' in the *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* [vol. v., Tokyo, 1907]).

18. Spirits of the house, etc.—Spirits have much to do with the Japanese conception of the house. No building can take place without a reference of some sort to them. But this is a large subject, and will be more conveniently treated in connexion with the house.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities quoted in the text of this article, the present writer has drawn mainly upon three sources, all Japanese:

- (i.) *The Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society*.
- (ii.) *Tsūzoku Bukkyō Shimbun*, a weekly journal published under the auspices of the reforming school of Buddhists, also in Tokyo.
- (iii.) *Tō-a no Hikari* ('The Light of the Far East'), the organ of the Tokyo Philosophical Society.

A. LLOYD.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Jewish).—There can be no hesitation in saying that the existence of spirits was, during most periods of Jewish history and in most places, regarded as incontestable. Yet this statement is capable of being modified in no small degree. It has been stated, on the one hand, that demonology obtained so strong a grasp of the popular mind as completely to fetter it with superstition and to stifle all higher aspirations; that religious teachers and thinkers were themselves not free from these ideas; and that this belief obscured and in many ways detracted from the value of their ethical teachings. On the other hand, this has been too categorically denied by

¹ It is to be noticed that there are *ōtengu*, 'big *tengu*,' with red faces and long human noses; there are also *kotengu*, 'small *tengu*,' with beaks. These are also known as *karasut*, 'crow *tengu*.'

writers who hold diametrically opposite views. As might be expected, the truth lies in the golden mean. The human mind and soul are capable of accommodating simultaneously opinions which are not only inconsistent, but even mutually exclusive. It is just because man does not always trouble to disentangle his thoughts and to harmonize them that he is willing to retain the incongruent. Consequently a whole-hearted belief in the supremacy of the Godhead need not necessarily exclude an acknowledgment of the working of other powers. To arrive at the conclusion that one or the other of these beliefs must be rejected requires considerable progress along the path of mental reasoning.

The belief in spirits during post-Biblical times was a legacy from earlier periods (see esp. the 'Assyr.-Bab.' and 'Hebrew' artt. on the present subject). What Chaldaea, Arabia, and Egypt gave to Canaan underwent substantial change, and received additions from internal and external sources. In Palestine itself, Galilee¹ may be singled out as being the centre where demonology was strongest, but this must not by any means be taken to exclude other parts. Many causes contributed to the diffusion of these ideas. The ever-growing intercourse with the Greek and Roman world, produced by commercial and political circumstances, can scarcely have failed to make the Jews acquainted with many new forms of spirits. The Jews from the Diaspora who re-visited their native land cannot have returned entirely empty-handed, and foreign ideas must have found a fruitful soil in those parts where religious influences were weakest to counteract them. By a people naturally given to syncretism, dryads and satyrs would easily be associated with *shedim* and *se'irim*. Moreover, the intercourse between the coastland of Palestine and the Aegean and Cypriot ports must have led to an interchange of ideas as well as of commodities. But, without going so far afield as Greece, there were enough territorial influences at hand to account for many foreign elements in Jewish demonological beliefs and practices.

A complete list of the various forms of demons may be seen in *JE*, art. 'Demonology.' The scope of the present article is to furnish suggestions which may in some cases account for their existence. While frankly admitting the origin of a large number to be purely superstitious, there are yet many for which other explanations must be sought. The area to be considered is immense, and references of great importance occur in all branches of literature—Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, New Testament and Patristic writings, and Talmudic and Rabbinic works of all ages, including Halakha, Haggada, and Qabbala. On account of this wide area, great care must be exercised in drawing conclusions. Demons occurring in late books must be traced to their earliest sources. An isolated reference in the *Shulhan 'Arukh* (1555) requires investigation as to whether it be a mediæval invention or a lingering survival of a primitive superstition. Secondly, references must be examined to see whether they are the utterances of individuals or genuine examples of popular belief; and distinctions must be drawn between local and general beliefs, between Semitic and non-Semitic, and between Jewish beliefs and those borrowed by Jews from their neighbours in European countries. A requirement, more vital than any of the foregoing, is the exercise of careful analysis in selecting Talmudic material. It is absolutely necessary to assign each authority to its proper local and chronological category; that is to say, evidence which applies to Babylon is inadmissible for Palestine; that which is found to occur in Galilee cannot be used to prove argu-

¹ Cf. H. Grätz, *Gesch.* 4, Leipzig, 1888, iii. 232.

ments for Judæa; and the same care must be exercised in respect of chronology.

In investigating Talmudic evidence as to spirits, the reader will notice, at the outset, different attitudes adopted by the Rabbis in dealing with this question. In some cases the reality of demons seems to be taken for granted absolutely; in others it seems, with no less certainty, to be denied. Stories occur in which both these attitudes may be traced simultaneously. The reason for this may be found if the nationality of the respective teachers be sought. It has already been stated that Galilee was the centre of Palestinian demonology, and it will almost invariably be found that *Galilean* teachers *accepted*, while *Judean* teachers *rejected*, the existence of spirits. The numerous instances which the NT furnishes would have been impossible save in Galilee; there is a strong similarity between these and those adduced by Galilean Rabbis. The same must be said of those Rabbis who came from Mesopotamia. As they were brought up in surroundings in which superstition was rife, their teaching was tinged by a belief in spirits, and in comparison with them the clarity of Palestinian teaching stands out in bold relief.

Justin Martyr (*Dial.* i. 85) accuses the Jews of employing amulets and conjurations to no less an extent than the heathen. The evidence of R. Simon b. Yohai, a Galilean Tanna of the 2nd cent., is equally conclusive for Galilee. Thus Bab. *'Erubbin*, 64b, states:

'The Master says: "We do not pass by food (which is lying in the street, and which may have been used for protection against spirits)." R. Yohanan in the name of R. Simon b. Yohai says: "This decision applies only to the earlier generations, when the daughters of Israel were not practised in all arts of magic (מכישפות); but nowadays, when the daughters of Israel are indeed practised in all magical arts, this does not apply. It has been taught that one should pass by leaves, but not small pieces." R. Asi said to R. Ashi: "Do they, then, not use small pieces also for this purpose?" [Note that none of these Rabbis is a Judean. Simon b. Yohai was a Galilean, and R. Asi and R. Ashi were Babylonians.]

The difference between Judæa, on the one hand, and Galilee and Babylon, on the other, may be demonstrated by the story related about Zonin and the Palestinian Aqiba in Bab. *'Abōda Zārā*, 55a: ¹

'Zonin said to R. Aqiba: "Both of us know that there is no reality in idols, but how is it that we see men going to them lame and returning sound?" He replied: "I will relate to thee a parable. There was once in the city an honest man, with whom all the inhabitants would deposit their money without witnesses. One man, however, would always do so before witnesses. On one occasion he forgot and omitted the witnesses. Then said the wife of the honest man to him, Now we can deny him; but he replied, And indeed since he is foolish, shall we lose our faithfulness?" So also is it with chastisements (i.e. diseases). When they are sent upon man, the precise limits of their duration are specified; they are adjured and warned at what moment, by what physician, and by what drug they are to leave the patient. When the time arrives for the diseases to depart, and it happens that the sufferer is at the (heaven) temple, the diseases say: "By rights we should not go, but shall we prove unfaithful to our oath for the sake of a fool?"

These and similar anecdotes, which are to be found in the same place, show that the Pal. Rabbis placed no reliance in spirits and conjurations. It should be noted that R. Aqiba (A.D. 50-135) says of himself elsewhere (*Sem.* viii.; *M. K.* 21b): 'The people of the south know Aqiba, but whence should the people of Galilee know him?' It was in Galilee that the people believed in possession by evil spirits and in the actuality of demons (e.g. NT references), whereas in Palestine the views of Aqiba prevailed.

One of the favourite forms of procuring intercourse with spirits was by spending the night in a cemetery. In connexion with this practice, reference should be made to Jer. *Terumoth*, i. fol. 40a, outer column, line 29; *Gittin*, vii. beginning, fol. 48b, outer column (ed. Krotoschin, 1866), and Bab. *Haqiga*, 3b, near end. In all these cases invocation

¹ The Gemara is attempting to account for God's tolerating idols and superstitions, and for the fact that spirits do sometimes accomplish cures.

of spirits is mentioned: e.g. *הַקֶּקֶד לְשֵׁרִים*, he who burns incense to the *shēdim*, and he who passes the night by the graves in order to enter into communion with an unclean spirit. These customs are strongly condemned, and are viewed as an indication of insanity (i.e. one who participates is a *meṣur*). With these passages may be compared the story in *Levit. Rabba*, xxvi. 5:

R. Berakhya in the name of R. Levi relates that a *kohen* and an Israelite were possessed by a demon and went to a skilled physician, who prescribed for the Israelite, but left the *kohen* neglected. The latter asked the reason, and the physician replied: 'He is an Israelite, and is of those who spend the night at the graves; but thou, who art a *kohen*, dost not act thus, therefore I left thee and prescribed for him.'

This story illustrates the difference between the ignorant and the learned classes; it should be contrasted with the statements of Athenagoras (*Legatio pro Christianis*, chs. xxiv., xxvi., xxvii.), to whom demons were a vivid reality.¹

Probably the earliest demons are those originating from the movements of celestial bodies and from natural phenomena. To the former, of course, belong Bab. and, later on, Persian examples. Similarly the sand-storm in the desert may be safely held to account for some of the aspects of the Arabic *jinn*. So, too, Ps 91⁶ 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday' may not improbably refer to the burning heat of midday. The development of this idea may be found in Bab. *Pesahim*, 111b ff., where the same word *qetebh* occurs.

Inasmuch as the functions of religion were, among the Jews, very wide, the scope of the teacher's activity extended to many branches which would not to-day be considered as belonging to the true sphere of religion. He legislated for social as well as for religious matters; the daily intercourse between man and his neighbour was the object of his attention. Consequently, when there are found quasi-religious references to spirits, in connexions which seem very remote from religion in its modern signification, it must be remembered that the word has been greatly restricted in the process of time. In turning back to those spirits which may perhaps have their origin in natural phenomena, the foregoing must be borne in mind. Thus in *Pesahim*, 111b, to which reference has been made, the following statement occurs:

'From the first of Tammuz to the sixteenth there can be no doubt as to their actuality; after that date it is doubtful. They may be found in the shadow of ivy which is stunted (not a yard high), and in the morning and evening shadows which are not a yard high, but chiefly they may be found in the shadows of a privy.'

The Gemara does not particularize the spirits mentioned in the passage cited, which follows references to many varieties of spirits. There cannot, however, be much doubt that the *qetebh m'irri*, or spirit of poisonous pestilence, is meant, although the passage might refer generally to *shēdim*, for this spirit is described a few lines earlier in the Gemara:

'The *qetebh m'irri* is of two kinds; one comes in the morning, the other in the afternoon. The former is called *qetebh m'irri*, and causes mealy porridge to ferment (lit., it appears in a vessel of mealy porridge and stirs the spoon). The latter is the pestilence which destroyeth at noonday; it appears like a sieve on the horns of a goat, and it turns like a sieve' (*ib. supra*).

It would not seem a very rash assumption to regard this spirit as the development and personification of midsummer heat. Tammuz is elsewhere stated to be the height of summer, e.g. *Shab.* 53a, where a popular proverb is quoted to the effect that even in Tammuz the donkey feels the cold. The fact that attention is drawn to those shadows which afford insufficient protection from the rays of the sun, and the stress laid on the evil effects of proximity to a privy, render this view more probable.

¹ It may be mentioned, incidentally, that the term for possession by a demon is *מְרִיר*, *m'irri*. The spirits are said to have been created on Friday afternoon before Sabbath; see *Gen. Rabba*, vii. 7; *Pirge Aboth*, v. 9, where they are included in the category of mythical phenomena.

able; so also does the mention of the action of heat on food and on animals (cf. the danger of sleeping under the rays of the moon [*Pes. 111a*, near foot]).

Closely allied to spirits which are embodiments of natural phenomena are those which affect man in his daily life. In the Gemara on the tenth Mishna of *Pesahim* many are mentioned. Under the guise of demons, they teach lessons in cleanliness, sobriety, care, and economy. For instance, 'Reš Laqish says: "Whoever does one of the following four things risks his life, and his blood is on his own head, namely: he who performs his natural functions between a palm tree and a wall; he who passes between two palm trees; he who drinks borrowed water; he who passes over spill water, even if his own wife has spilled it in his presence."'

It is unnecessary to show what points underlie these warnings, which are, moreover, still further discussed in the Gemara; but it is well to note that the form of the warning has changed somewhat. The demon is implied, but not actually expressed. Similar instances are the following:

'The Genius (אֱלֹהִים = Pers. *izad*; so Goldschmidt, in his tr. of Jer., p. 711) of sustenance is called Cleanliness; the Genius of poverty is called Dirt.' R. Papa says: 'A man should not enter a house in which there is a cat, barefooted. Why? Because a cat kills and devours serpents, and serpents have small bones; should one of these bones enter his foot, it could not be dislodged and would become dangerous. Others say that a man should not enter a house in which there is no cat, by night. Why? Because a serpent could, unknown to him, become attached to him.'¹

One of the peculiarities of the Hebrew language, as compared with Greek, is its paucity of abstract nouns. Although Aramaic, especially that dialect in which the Talmud is composed, has a far larger vocabulary than Mishnaic Hebrew, yet it cannot be denied that the mind of the Jew preferred nouns of a concrete meaning. This fact deserves recognition when considering demonology. The vocabulary contained no word which could adequately render such terms as 'dirt,' 'infection,' 'hygiene,' etc., and in dealing with scientific terms it was, and is still, a matter of extreme difficulty to find suitable translations. This fact will be evident to any one who attempts to render into classical or even Mishnaic Hebrew a piece of philosophical prose which could be turned into classical Greek with facility. Consequently the personification of a quality is sometimes to be disregarded, and the underlying principle must be extracted. It might be urged that the Greek no less than the Hebrew people had its demons; but other circumstances, which will readily suggest themselves, have to be taken into account. Instances of this kind are the following:

In *Yoma*, 77b, reference is made to the demon אֲשֵׁרָה, whose name also occurs in *Ta'anith*, 20b, where the kind actions of R. Huna are enumerated. *Shibtā* clings to the finger-tips and afflicts people, especially young children, who eat with unwashed hands. R. Huna was acquainted with this demon, and used to place a jar of water ready, saying, 'Whoever wishes, let him come and wash his hands so as to avoid the danger from the *Shibtā*.' Kohler (*JE*, art. 'Demonology,' p. 517, foot) associates *Shibtā* with croup. In the same way the *Shulhan 'Arukh* preserves an early reference to the evil spirit which clings to a man's unwashed finger-tips, and urges the necessity of washing them. It is scarcely conceivable that the evil spirit in this case can have any other meaning than dirt—a word for which the Heb. language does not contain an appropriate equivalent.

It is possible that the demon *Lilith* (see Is 34¹⁴; 'Eruhin, 18b, 100b; Gen. R. xx.) belongs to this category. Adam is said to have married *Lilith* in addition to Eve, and filled the world with *shedim* and demons of every description, which she bore him. Then, seized with jealousy of Eve's children, she attacks and attempts to slay newly-born infants. The story recalls the myth of Latona's anger against the children of Niobe, but perhaps the *Lilith* idea is a personification of the perils which beset women in child-birth.

Kohler (*loc. cit.*) enumerates many instances of demons of disease; e.g. *ruah seradq*, cataplexy; *ruah palga*, headache; *ben n'felim*, epilepsy; *ruah qardeyqaq* (καρδιακός), melancholy;

for all of which suitable Heb. equivalents are lacking; it cannot be from pure choice that demonology was called upon to furnish descriptive titles.

There are cases in which demons and spirits are cited as playing pranks of a harmless or even amusing character, comparable to those of fairies and kelpies in folk-lore. The fact that such stories are found in most abstruse portions of the Gemara supports the idea above suggested. Children accompanied the Rabbis and listened to their discussions, and a story of the marvellous and supernatural may have been purposely introduced in order to stimulate wandering wits or as a reward for diligent attention.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in many cases the demon is of a purely superstitious nature, e.g. *Berakhoth*, 6a:

'It is taught: Abba Benjamin says, "Were mortal eye capable of seeing everything, it would be impossible for any human being to exist on account of the Mazzikim ('Harmers')." Abbaye says, "They are more numerous than we, and surround us as the mounds of earth (thrown up by the plough) surround the furrow." R. Huna says, "Each of us has a thousand on his left, and a myriad on his right." Rabba says, "The jostling at lectures is due to them, weariness of the knees is due to them, the wearing out of the clothes of the Rabbis is due to their rubbing, tottering feet are due to them. Whoever wishes to know them, let him take sifted ashes and strew them round his bed, and in the morning their traces will be seen as of the footprints of a cock. He who wishes to see them must take the after-birth of a black cat, the daughter of a black cat, the firstborn of a first-born; let him burn it with fire, pound it up, and smear his eyes therewith; then he will see them. Let him cast them into an iron tube and seal them with an iron seal-ring, lest they steal aught. Let him keep his mouth (perhaps the mouth of the tube) closed, lest he be injured. R. Bibi b. Abbaye did this, but he suffered injury; so the Rabbis prayed for him, and he was cured."

This extract contains both the playful and the superstitious elements, but it is very hard to observe the distinction. It is also a matter of no small difficulty to determine how far the belief in demons was actual or superficial, or, if actual, whether good, innocuous, or definitely harmful. It is to be regarded as an evil thing for a man to regulate his conduct by his belief in spirits, but great objection cannot be raised to a bare acknowledgment of their existence. A child's life would be empty without fairy stories; even to-day the personification of the spirit of Christmas festivity receives good-natured toleration. Religious thinkers belonging to most heterogeneous schools of thought accept angelology and demonology as a necessary concomitant of religion. The presence of both is essential to that mystic element from which no religion is or should be entirely divorced. But the force of the imaginative faculty becomes baneful when it invades the sphere of reason and subverts reason itself. It is almost impossible to establish a hard and fast rule in these cases.

The demonology of the Qabbala, and also of the later Rabbinic writings, is extremely interesting. Many beautiful *Minhagim* of Jewish ceremonial are derived from Qabbala, which assumes a mystic connexion between things terrestrial and celestial, and symbolically identifies the form with the matter.

The prayer at the blowing of the ram's horn on New Year's day makes the notes of the *shofar* into angels ascending to the Divine Throne, while inability to blow the *shofar* is due to the *yēser ha-rā'* ('evil inclination, lust') which intercepts man's holy thoughts and robs him of *kavanāh* ('devotion') and ability to produce a note. So, too, on Friday night, when a man returns from the synagogue to his home, which is prepared to receive the Sabbath bride in peace and love, two good angels accompany him and bless him, while the evil angel is constrained to say Amen. But, if the man's thoughts are not properly attuned, and if the reception of the bride is neglected, the good angels sorrowfully depart and the evil angel prevails.

In such cases the spirits are to be explained as graphic representations of the frame of mind of the man, poetically expressed, and with these the *δαίμων* of Socrates may be compared; it is in such circumstances undoubtedly that the prophylactics suggested by the Rabbis were meant to apply. The recital of verses of Scripture, especially of the

¹ In this case, although the demon has become completely rationalized, the warning is addressed to a man's common sense, and not to his fear of the supernatural. Yet it must be borne in mind that Papa, a Bab. Amora (A.D. 300-375), was noted for his belief in demons. Cf. especially the יְרֵן יְרֵן recited at the end of a *massekhta*.

Psalms, and the observance of *t'phillin*, *m'zūzā*, and *šēšith*, were intended to prove a balm to a troubled mind, and to divert distraught fancies, but not to have a therapeutic effect on the body.¹

Nevertheless, the belief among mediæval Rabbis as to the actuality of spirits seems to have been real. Maimonides and Ibn Ezra form very striking exceptions (cf. Ibn Ezra on Lv 17¹, and contrast Nahmanides quoted by Kohler, *loc. cit.*; cf. also Rashi on Dt 32²⁴ and Job 5¹⁷).

Summary.—(1) Belief in the existence of spirits cannot be denied, but (2) it was largely limited to Galilee and Babylonia. Palestine, on the whole, was free from it, and (3) in some cases other explanations must be sought: (a) natural phenomena, (b) absence of terms for abstract nouns, (c) the occasional root of social and other precepts in man's fondness for the supernatural, (d) playful spirits and fairy stories, and (e) the action of mysticism on the pious mind. (4) It is difficult to estimate the extent to which credence was given to the actuality of spirits and to which this belief influenced personal conduct.

LITERATURE.—M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leyden, 1893; L. Blau, *Altjüd. Zauberveesen*, Strassburg, 1898; K. Kohler, art. 'Demonology,' in *JE* iv, 514. A. Kohut, *Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus* (1896), is the chief work. Talmudic references may be consulted in Rodkinson's tr. (New York, 1901), or preferably in L. Goldschmidt (text and tr., Berlin, 1897).

HERBERT LOEWE.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Muslim).—Besides the gods to whom they devoted a regular cult, the ancient Arabs recognized a series of inferior spirits, whom they conciliated or conjured by magical practices. In this matter, as in others, Muhammad preserved the ancient beliefs by adapting them to the new religion, in such a way that it is impossible to distinguish which elements in his teaching are sprung from his inward conviction and which are simply a concession to the doctrine of his compatriots. To these notions—Muhammad's inheritance, so to speak—are added outside elements, Jewish and Christian, themselves derived from Chaldaea and Parsiism. It seems impossible to give a precise account of the doctrine of the Qur'an on the subject of spirits, for even the very earliest commentators are hedged around with innumerable traditions, which it is anything but easy to criticize. It may be said, however, that the Qur'an traces out all the main divisions of the system: angels, servants of Allah; Satan and his horde who animate the images of false gods; lastly, the *jinn*, some of whom are believers, some unbelievers. If it indicates the existence of several categories of angels, it nevertheless names only two, viz. *Jabril* and *Mikā'il*; for *Hārūt* and *Mārūt* are fallen angels with a Satanic rôle.

However, just as Judaism, under the influence of the Qabbala, multiplied its list of spirits, and Christianity set up in battle array its armies of angels and demons, Islām also found in this belief and in the magic struggle for the favour, or against the attacks, of spirits an element of reaction against the cold, aloof unity of Allah. From Judaism and Christianity Islām learned the names of spirits not known before, and it gave them definite forms, in descriptions which grew in bulk during the favourable stages of anthropomorphism and the *haushiya*, and then gained in coherence under the influence of Mu'tazilitism. This doctrine we shall discuss in a few lines.

Islām recognizes three classes of living beings higher than man: angels (*malak*, plur. *malā'ika*); demons (*shaitān*, plur. *shayāṭīn*); and *jinn*. The essential and common characteristic of these beings is that they are formed from one single substance,

¹ Compare *Sanh.* x. 1, where incantations over wounds are forbidden. He who practises these has no share in the world to come, for he has doubted God's omnipotence.

instead of from a combination of substances like the human body.

Among these spirits, the front rank is occupied by the angels; they are Allah's bodyguard, and do his will and obey his word. According to Kazwini (i. 55), 'the angels are beings formed from a single substance, endowed with life, speech, and reason.' Authorities are not agreed as to the characteristics that distinguish them from demons and *jinn*; according to some, they differ in their very nature, just as one species of terrestrial animal differs from another; others are of opinion that the difference is only in contingencies, or relativities, such as are contained in the notions of complete and incomplete, good and bad, etc. The angels are essentially sacred, untouched by the guilt of passion or the stains of anger. They are in constant attendance upon the commands of Allah. Their food is *tasbīh* (the recitation of the formula 'Glory to Allah!'), and their drink is *taqdis* ('Allah is holy!'). Their occupation is to repeat the name of Allah, and all their joy is in his worship. Allah created them and gave them diverse forms, that they might fulfil his commands and people the heavens. The prophet said: 'The heavens crack, and cannot but crack, for there is not a hand's-breadth of space to be found in them without an angel bending or prostrating himself before Allah.'

The Arabic word *malak*, the general word for angel, means 'sent,' and is a Jewish loan-word. It has lost its true form *mal'ak*, which survives, however, in the characteristic form of the plural *malā'ika*. The exact pronunciation was as in pre-Islamic Arabia, as we know from a verse of Abu Wajra, quoted in the *Lisān al-'Arab* (xii. 386), where it is necessary to the metre. But a certain number of angels had special names, which will be mentioned later on, partly derived from the Qur'an. It seems useless to quote all the verses of the Book where angels are mentioned; we shall therefore notice only the most interesting.

The greatest of the angels—those honoured by all the others as dearest to their Lord—are the four throne-bearers of Allah (*ḥamalat al-'arsh*), whose number will be doubled on the resurrection day. Their duty is, besides, to praise Allah and implore him on behalf of true believers. Muslim legend gives them the form of the four beings who passed into Christianity with the Apocalypse to symbolize the evangelists: man, bull, eagle, and lion. This legend defines further the relations established by their form between each of them and a class of living beings on earth: the first angel is humanity's intercessor before Allah; the second pleads for domestic animals; the third for birds; and the fourth for savage beasts.

The cherubim (*karūbiyūn*) are angels who are absolutely absorbed in the holiness of Allah; their function is to repeat the *tasbīh* ('Glory to Allah!') unflinching all day and all night. They seem to inhabit a secluded part of the sky, where they live in peace, far removed from the attacks of the devil, *Iblis*.

There are four angels who have a distinct personality and are each known by a separate name: *Jabril* (Gabriel), *Mikā'il* (Michael), *'Azrā'il*, and *'Isrāfil*. Authorities class these in a special group: these four archangels will be the last to die at the end of the world. *Jabril* (or *Jabr'il*, *Jibril*, and sometimes *Jibrin*) is, above all, the angel of revelation (*amīn al-wahī*): he was the messenger sent by Allah to the prophets and particularly to Muhammad. His formidable appearance would overawe men, and so he has to appear in disguise to the prophets. Muhammad entreated him to reveal himself to him as he really was, and *Jabril* consented; but, when he appeared,

immense, and covering the whole horizon with his wings, the Prophet fainted away. Even the inhabitants of the sky were alarmed by him. When Allah sent him to deliver the Word to a prophet, they heard a noise like the dragging of chains over rocks, and so terrible that they swooned. When Jibril approached them, they recovered their senses, and asked what the Lord had said to him: 'The Truth' (*al-Haqq*), replied the angel, and all repeated: '*Al-Haqq, al-Haqq!*' This function of Jibril is explained in Arabic by terms analogous to those mentioned above: he is the 'guardian of holiness' (*hāzin al-quds*), the 'faithful spirit' (*ar-rūh al-amin*), the 'holy spirit' (*ar-rūh al-quds*); in which terms we see a borrowing from Christianity. He is also the 'supreme confidant' (*an-nāmūs al-akbar*), and the 'peacock of the angels' (*tā'ūs al-malā'ika*). His rôle, however, is not restricted to the carrying of revelation.

A tradition says that, when the Prophet asked him to reveal all his power, Jibril answered: 'On my two wings I bore the country of the people of Loth, and carried it up into the air so high that its inhabitants could no longer hear their cocks crow; then I turned it upside down.'

It is also said that he has assistants who watch over the welfare of the world. Schwab (*Angelol. heb.*, 1897, p. 91) notices some characteristics of his various functions. The most simple descriptions give him six huge wings, each composed of a hundred little ones; he has also two other wings which he uses to destroy rebel cities. But later texts show Jibril provided with sixteen hundred wings, and covered with saffron hairs; a sun shines between his eyes, a moon and stars between every two hairs. He enters the Sea of Light (*Baḥr an-Nūr*) three hundred and sixty times every day; and every time he comes out of it a million drops fall from his wings, and form the angels called 'Spiritual' (*Rūḥāniya*), 'because they spread abroad spirit, peace, and perfumes' (*ar-rūh w'ar-rāḥa w'ar-rīḥān*). Jibril was created five hundred years after Mikā'il. He is named three times in the Qur'an (ii. 91, 92, lxvi. 4); but he also appears under other names (ii. 81, 254, v. 109, where he is the annunciator to Mary; xvi. 104, xxvi. 193, liv. 5, etc.). In ii. 92, Mikā'il (in the form Mikāl) is mentioned after Jibril, to reply, the commentaries say, to the Jews, who regarded the former as their ally and the latter as their enemy, and gave this as a pretext for rejecting the revelation brought to Muhammad by Jibril (Ṭabari, *Tafsir*, i. 330).

Mikā'il (Michael) is the angel charged with providing food for the body, and knowledge and prudence for the mind. He is the supreme controller of all the forces of Nature. From each of his eyes there fall a thousand tears, from each of which Allah creates an angel with the same form as Michael. Singing praises to Allah until the day of judgment, they watch over the life of the world; these are the *karūbiyūn* (cherubim). Being Michael's assistants, they control the rain, plants, and fruits; every plant on the earth, every tree, every drop of water, is under the care of one of them. The earliest traditions locate Michael in the seventh heaven, on the borders of the Full Sea (*al-Baḥr al-Masjūr*), which is crowded with an innumerable array of angels; Allah alone knows his form and the number of his wings. Later on, however, the descriptions become more precise: his wings are of the colour of green emerald; he is covered with saffron hairs, and each of them contains a million faces and mouths, and as many tongues which, in a million dialects, implore the pardon of Allah; from a million eyes that weep over the sins of the faithful fall the tears from which Allah formed the cherubim. Michael was created five hundred years after 'Isrāfīl. The con-

ception that arises from the representation of the forces of Nature in the form of angels distributed throughout the world is decidedly pantheistic; it was developed in a most curious manner by late Arabic traditions which have been summarized by Kazwīnī (i. 62f.). As we might have expected, a *ḥadīth* was the origin of this idea:

Around each man appeared a hundred and sixty angels 'sitting round him, like flies around a pot of honey on a summer day'; these are the Agents of Beings (*Maukulāt al-Kā'ināt*). They are the forces of nutrition, and endow the inert food introduced into the body of man with the power of becoming flesh, bone, and blood. They have to watch that the organism preserves what is necessary to it and gets rid of superfluous matter; that each organ plays its part and not the part of any other. The whole mysterious development of life is thus put into the light fingers of heavenly workmen.

To these we must add still another angel called the Spirit, or the Breath (*ar-Rūḥ*), which may well be only a new form of Jibril. To him and to his incarnations Allah entrusted the duty of bringing motion to the heavenly spheres and the stars, and of animating the sublunary bodies and living beings. Just as he can make the heavenly bodies perform their revolutions, he can also stop them in their course—with Allah's permission.

The third of the angels of definite personality is mentioned in the Qur'an (xxxii. 11) under the name of *malaku 'l-maut*; but tradition calls him 'Azrā'il.

After Allah created the angel of death, 'Azrā'il, he kept him hidden for a time from the other angels. When he showed him to them, they all fell into a faint which lasted a thousand years. This terrible being, who plays so important a part in the existence of the world, and who is everywhere at once, is only a passive agent of Allah's will; Allah holds death in his hands. Muslim writers insist on this fact; for it was possible to believe, on the other hand, that the terrible angel of death himself executed the decrees which Allah had inscribed upon the 'Well-guarded Tablet of Destiny' (*al-luh al-mahfūz*); but this is not the case. 'Azrā'il does nothing without the express command of Allah. He knows nothing but what Allah tells him. He receives from Allah the leaves upon which the names of those who are about to die are written. It is only in details that the traditions differ. According to some, the guardian angel comes and warns 'Azrā'il that the man under his care is approaching his last moments. The angel of death notes the name of the dying man in his register, with a white mark in the case of a believer, with a black mark in the case of others. But he waits until a leaf falls from the tree that is by the throne of Allah (*'arsh*) with the dying man's name inscribed on it. According to others, this leaf falls from the tree forty days before the death of the man, who is living upon the earth during this interval but dead in the sky. Still another account is that an angel sent by Allah brings to 'Azrā'il the list of men who are to die during the year: this message no doubt comes to him on the 'night of destiny' (*laylat al-qadar*), which is at the middle of the month Sha'bān, and during which the pious man, rapt in prayer, may see, across a hollow of the sky, the leaf on which his name is written falling from the tree.

All our authorities agree in believing that the angel of death is present wherever a man is ceasing from life, and this presence is anthropomorphized in stories the wide diffusion of which proves its popularity: the story, e.g., of the proud king and the beggar is world-wide (Ṭabari, Ghazālī, Mūstatref, etc.). Some explain this multiple presence by saying that the angel of death has assistants (*'a'wān*) who make the man's soul rise up to his throat, whence 'Azrā'il comes and takes it. Others represent the terrible angel in the form of a vague, formidable being, whose feet rest upon

the borders of the world; his head reaches the highest heaven, and his face looks towards the Tablet of Destiny. But this description did not seem satisfying, and writers accordingly give him seventy thousand feet and four thousand wings, while his body is provided with as many eyes and tongues as there are men in the world. Every time a being dies, one of these eyes closes, and at the end of the world only eight eyes will be open, since there will be only eight beings alive—the four archangels and the four throne-bearers. Azrā'il has four faces, each of which is reserved for a special class of beings: the face on his head is for prophets and angels, that on his chest is for believers, that on his back for unbelievers, and that on his feet for the *jinn*.

The angel of death consigns the souls he has seized to the angels of compassion (*malā'ikat ar-raḥma*) or to the angels of punishment (*malā'ikat al-adhāb*), according as they are believers or unbelievers; but certain authors say that it is the angels assisting 'Azrā'il who themselves carry off the soul with gentleness or roughly. It is also said that 'Azrā'il, with Allah's permission, calls the souls, and they come and place themselves between the two first fingers of his hand. Lastly, according to still others, 'Azrā'il gathers the believing souls together, with his right hand, in a white silk cloth perfumed with musk, and sends them to the farthest summits of heaven (*al-aliyyin*), while the souls of unbelievers are crowded into a rag coated with tar-water and launched into the depths of hell (*as-sijjin*).

No man can escape 'Azrā'il; it is impossible to cheat him even by being instantly transported by magical means to the very ends of the earth: 'Azrā'il is there in an instant. This is seen in the story of Solomon and the young man who was carried to China by his *jinn*; this popular story is found everywhere (Tabari, Ghazali, Wolff, *The 1001 Nights*, Mūstafef, etc.). The Qur'an commentators, however, insist on the amicable relations which Solomon vowed with 'Azrā'il, though he had started by fainting at the sight of the angel in his true shape.

'Isrā'il is, according to the formula given by Kazwini, the angel who brings the orders of Allah to their proper destination, and who puts the soul into the body. He is the angel of whom the Qur'an speaks without naming him (vi. 73, lxxx. 33, etc.), and who is to sound the trumpet of the last judgment (*ṣūr*). 'The master of the trumpet (*ṣāhib al-qarn*),' says a *ḥadīth*, 'puts the trumpet to his lips, and, with gaze fixed upon the throne, waits for the command to blow. At the first blast, the blast of terror (*nafḥat al-faz'*), everything will perish in the heavens and on the earth, except what Allah wills,' i.e., according to different opinions, except the eight angels mentioned above, or only the four archangels, who will perish in the following order: Jibrīl, Mikā'il, 'Isrā'il, and, last of all, the angel of death. After forty years passed in *Barzakh*, 'Isrā'il will be re-born and will sound the second blast, the blast of resurrection (*nafḥat al-bāth*): all the souls, gathered together in the bell of his trumpet, which is as vast as the heavens and the earth, will fly like a swarm of bees to the bodies they are about to animate. While this is the essential function of 'Isrā'il, it is not his only function. When Allah wishes to give a command to men, he orders the Pen (*qalam*) to write upon the Tablet of Destiny (*lūh*). This he gives to 'Isrā'il, who places it between his eyes, and transmits it to Mikā'il. Mikā'il gets the command performed by his assistants, who represent, as mentioned above, the forces of Nature. Authors describe 'Isrā'il under a form borrowed from a *ḥadīth* of 'A'isha, repeating the words of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, i.e.

the Jewish tradition. 'Isrā'il has four wings: with the first he closes up the East; with the second the West; with the third he covers the earth; and with the fourth he veils his face before the Almighty Power of Allah. His feet are under the seventh world, while his head reaches up to the foot of the throne. A late and strange story (Wolff, p. 14) shows him weeping so copiously at the sight of hell that Allah has to stop his tears because they threaten to renew the Flood of Noah.

After a dead man has been placed in the tomb, and his friends have left him, and he has heard the sound of their retreating steps, two formidable angels, Munkar and Nakir, come and sit by his side, and ask him: 'What say you of this man (i.e. Muhammad)?' The believer (*mu'min*) replies: 'I bear witness that he is the prophet of Allah and his servant.' Then the two angels show him the place which he might have occupied in hell, and, on the other hand, the place which he will gain in paradise. The false believer (*munāfiq*) and the unbeliever (*kāfir*) will reply to the same question: 'I do not know; I said what the others said.' Then the two angels will beat him with iron rods so that he will utter a cry which will be heard by men and *jinn*. According to other traditions, the questions will be asked by a special angel, called Kumān, who, if necessary, will deliver the dead person over to the punishment of the two angels of the tomb. Others, again, say that the angel placed in charge of the departed will question him, and at the sound of his voice the tomb will contract, almost crushing the man dwelling within it, until the first Friday of Rajab. The believer who dies on a Friday is exempt from the questioning at the tomb. The name of these two angels is derived from a root *nakar*, 'to deny'; we here find the parallelism dear to Hebrew traditions, and the presence of the initial M in one of the names—two souvenirs of Parsiism and Ancient Persia.

Man is guarded night and day by the *ḥafaza* angels, 'who protect him from *jinn*, men, and Satans,' and who register all his actions. These angels are four in number, two during the day, and two during the night. Some writers admit the existence of a fifth angel, who remains beside men constantly. The two angels stand by the side of the man, one at his right hand and the other at his left, or one in front of him and the other behind; by night they take up their position one at his head and the other at his feet. The day-guardians change places with the night-guardians at the rising and the setting of the sun. These hours are dangerous in themselves, being the times when the *jinn* roam about, but they become much more dangerous to man because it is then that the change of the guard of the *ḥafaza* takes place. If the believer makes haste to begin the morning prayer (*ṣubḥ*), and the evening prayer (*maghrib*) at the very earliest opportunity, the angels who have to depart from him leave him safe from the *jinn*, against whom the sacred ceremonies protect him, and ascend to heaven, bearing witness to Allah of the faith of his worshipper. Before he has finished his prayer, the other two guardians come and stand by his sides. But it is not only to the machinations of the *jinn* that man is exposed: 'Iblis is on the watch for him by day, and his son during the night. This very simple arrangement has also been complicated by the traditionalists of later times. To the four guardians already known they added six others: one of them holds the man by the tuft of hair which Muslims wear on the top of their heads, and drags him one way or the other according as the man shows humility or pride. Another stays in front of his mouth to prevent the serpent from entering it. Two others protect his eyes; and the last two, placed on his lips,

listen only to the words which he pronounces in prayer.

On the *ḥafāza* devolves the duty of writing down the actions of men; the one on the right hand keeps an account of the good deeds, and the one on the left of the bad. These registers will be a witness on the judgment day. When the man performs a good deed, the angel on the right hand immediately writes it down; when he commits a sin, the same angel begs his companion not to write it down, but to give the sinner respite—six or seven hours, according to the writers—during which he has time to repent. Some commentators even allow that a compensation may be arranged, and that every good action effaces a bad one. Unbelievers also are said to have guardians (Qur'an, lxxxvi. 4).

When the *ḥafāza* see that the man over whom they had charge has died, they do not know what to do, and they pray to Allah, who tells them to go to the grave of the deceased and repeat the formulæ of adoration (*tasbīḥ*, *takbīr*, *taqdis*), which, on the judgment day, will be counted among the merits of the deceased.

These angels are mentioned several times in the Qur'an, into which they have been introduced by Christian tradition. In lxxxii. 11, they are called *kirām kātibīn*, 'noble writers,' indicating their rôle as overseers of human actions; in vi. 61 they are called *ḥafāza*; but in xiii. 12 they are at the same time called *nuṣṣ* *aqṣabāt*, 'those who relieve each other.' This last expression is puzzling in its form, and the commentators, trying to explain it, say that it is a perfectly logical double plural, and that the second verbal form *aqṣaba* here stands for the third form *ʿaqaba*. The Qur'an (i. 17) uses the word *raṣīb* to denote the guardian angel of men, and Tabari (*Tafsīr*, xiii. 68, line 16) shows that Qur'an xiii. 12 was read by 'Alī ben-Ka'b with the following variants: 'he has in front of him *nuṣṣ* *aqṣabāt*, and behind him a *raṣīb*.' There may be some connexion between these terms and those referring to the two stars which, during the course of the year, appear, one in the East and one in the West, at twilight and at dawn, and the observation of which serves as a foundation for a division of the year into twenty-eight *manāzil* or 'mans'—a division which is very fruitful in popular practices. The belief in guardian angels, then, over and above Christian traditions, might become connected with an astral cult.

In the crowd of angels who have no special character, certain authors distinguish the 'pious travellers' (*as-sayyāḥīn*) who scour the country with the intention of frequenting only the gatherings where the name of Allah is being repeated. They then ascend to Allah, who questions them, and, on their evidence, pardons his fervent worshippers the faults they may have committed. According to a passage in Ibn al-Athīr (*Lisān al-'Arab*, xii. 386), none of these angels could enter any place in which there was an image or a dog.

We cannot explain the circumstance that has drawn the names of Hārūt and Mārūt from the anonymous crowd of spirits into the broad daylight of the Holy Book (Qur'an, ii. 97). Traditions have developed rapidly to explain their history, and since the 9th cent. they have been copiously explained by commentators (Tabari, *Tafsīr*, i. 3402).

Two angels having incurred the wrath of Allah have been thrown into a well in the town of Babylon, where, loaded with chains, they will teach mortals the art of magic until the end of the world. In order to punish them, Allah has commanded them to teach this accursed science; but they have to warn those who consult them that they are rebels, and to advise them not to imitate them. According to a *ḥadīth* of 'A'isha, a woman came to her when the prophet was away, and told her that, being uneasy about the absence of her husband, she had consulted a sorcerer; carried away at a gallop by two black dogs (one of the ordinary disguises of 'Iblis), the two women had arrived at the edge of the Babylonian well, where the two fallen angels had put the inquirer in possession of magical powers, from which she was coming to ask the prophet to deliver her.

Who are these two angels, and what was their crime? This is not the place to study in detail the different versions which are prevalent in Arabic literature, or to show how, among the late writers, Kazwīnī, for example, the legend has, under Mu'tazilite influence, been contracted into an account of a more serious kind, but deprived of characteristic

details. We shall give here the chief traits of the most fully developed legend, which seems to be the most ancient.

The first men in the world soon gave themselves up to all kinds of debauchery and crime. The angels who looked on at these horrors from the heights of heaven were surprised at the gentleness of Allah. 'Be more tolerant,' he said to them; 'if you were exposed to the passions which agitate men, you would soon commit all their crimes.' The angels protested, and begged Allah to put them to the test; and he consented. They chose two of the most noble and pure among them, Hārūt and Mārūt, who descended to earth. Allah allowed them to live there in their own way, and prohibited them only from polytheism, theft, adultery, wine, and murder. All went well until one day, when a woman came before them; whether by chance or chosen as judges, they had to decide in a quarrel which had arisen between her and her husband. This woman was beautiful; she excited the desire of the two angels. Tradition gives us her name; 'she was called Zahāra in Arabic, Baidūṭ in Aramaic, and 'Anāhid in Persian' [i.e. Venus]. She set conditions on her favours: according to some, she asked her lovers the word which enabled them to ascend to heaven every day, obtained it, made use of it, and remained attached to the firmament in the form of the planet Venus (Zahāra), while the two angels remained prisoners on earth for having misused the sacred word. According to other traditions, she commanded them to worship an idol, or she made them drink wine, the intoxication of which led them to murder a beggar who was passing. In any case, Allah called or recalled Venus to the sky, and punished the culprits. On the intercession of Solomon, Idris, or some other good personage, he let them choose between a terrestrial punishment and an everlasting chastisement. They chose the former, and were chained in the well of Bābel, which, according to some, is Babylon of Chaldaea; according to others, a place in Demāvend, famous for its magical traditions. We may mention, as a strange variant of this story, the tradition that the two angels who brought magic to men were Mikā'il and Jibril.

This legend may have reached Muhammad through Rabbinic traditions, especially according to the version which shows the woman tempter ascending to heaven with the password of the two angels, and remaining there in the form of the planet Venus. Geiger (*Was hat Mohammed a. d. Judenthume aufgenommen?* 2 Leipzig, 1902, p. 107 f.) mentions a tradition in which the two angels are called Shamhāzi and Aza'el (Schwab, p. 209); the daughter of the earth who seduces them is referred to under the name of Aster (= 'star'; see Schwab on the word 'Biduk'). But we must seek the origin elsewhere; it is in connexion with the cult of Mithra and Anahita that we again come across the names of the two spirits, Haurvatāt and Ameretāt—not to mention the tradition on the Chaldaean origin of magic (cf. vol. i. p. 796*).

Paradise and hell are peopled with spirits whose exact description has not been given by any writer. At the entrance to paradise there is sometimes placed an angel called Ridwān, whose name is probably a rough interpretation of a passage in the Qur'an (iii. 13). We do not know in what class to place the *houris* (*ḥūr al-'ain*), who are said to share with other women the society of the blessed, and who, shining and pure, are exempt from physical suffering, like all the inhabitants of paradise (Qur'an, xlv. 54, lii. 20, lv. 56 f., lvi. 22, etc.).

The teaching is much clearer in regard to hell. It is guarded by a terrible angel Mālik, assisted by *shīres* (*zabaniya*), who in their turn have guardians (*ḥafāza* or *ḥazanāt jahannam*) at their command. These *shīres* are nineteen in number, i.e. equal to the number of letters in *bismillāh* (*bismillāhi-r-rahmāni-r-rahīmi*)='in the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful'. People escape from them by reciting this formula. Mālik stirs up the fire which burns the reprobates, and replies to their complaints with jokes; but he is milder in the case of believers guilty of mortal sins, who, according to the prevailing theory, will one day get free from hell by the intercession of Muhammad. He is mentioned in the Qur'an (xliii. 77).

We have already seen that 'Iblis was the wicked angel, who, assisted by his son, tempts mortals.

He was cursed for refusing to prostrate himself before Adam, created from clay, when he had been created from fire (Qur'an, xxxviii. 77 f.). Allah cursed him, calling him 'stoned' (*rajim*). He has command of the unbelieving *jinn*, who are his agents with men.

The orthodox doctrine, as we have just seen, is very chary of hints as to the names of the spirits. But, in imitation of the Jewish Qabbala and under the influence of conjuration formulae, the Muslim practice has developed this nomenclature in a peculiar way, as it had commented on the supreme name of Allah in his ninety-nine secondary names. Thus there is formed an interminable list of names of angels in *-il*, and of names of *jinn* in *-ūs*, which fill all the works on magic. Without entering into details, it may be useful to recount here a *ḥadīth* which Kazwini mentions (i. 59), following 'Ibn 'Abbās:

Each of the seven heavens is inhabited by a group of angels, who are engaged in praising and worshipping Allah. 'Those who inhabit the lower heaven which encircles the earth have the form of cows, and are under the command of an angel called 'Isma'il; in the second heaven dwell eagles under the angel Miḥā'il; in the third, vultures under Sa'ādiyā'il; in the fourth, horses under Šaḥā'il; in the fifth, *houris* under Kalkā'il; in the sixth, young boys under Samāḥā'il; in the seventh, men under Rūbā'il.' Lastly, beyond the veil which closes the heaven, angels, so numerous that they do not know each other, praise Allah in different languages which resound like crashing thunder.

In a word, the ancient beliefs of the pagan Arabs have been preserved by peopling the Muslim world with *jinn*, who, for the most part, are the servants of 'Iblis. See more fully under art. ARABS (ANCIENT), vol. i. p. 669 f. But, under the influence of Judaism and Christianity, the new religion has also acquired an army of angels and demons, whose history cannot be clearly given without touching on the critical study of the *ḥadīths*.

LITERATURE.—F. A. Klein, *The Religion of Islām*, London, 1906, pp. 64–67, 87; T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1895, *passim*; M. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig, 1872; Kazwini, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeldt, 1849, i. 55–63. GAUDEFREY-DEMOMBYNES.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Persian).—Demonology plays a prominent part in the religion of Persia because of the pronounced dualistic tenets of Zoroastrianism. The opposing forces of evil and good are believed to be in constant warfare until the last millennial cycles of the world preceding the day of judgment, when perfected man shall, by the aid of the heavenly hosts, overcome the power of evil (*drug*) for ever, and righteousness (Av. *aša*) shall reign supreme.

The general designation for 'demon' in the Avesta is *daēva*, the same word as the later Persian *div*, 'devil,' and it is etymologically identical with Skr. *dēva*, 'deity,' Lat. *divus*, 'divine,' although diametrically opposed in meaning. This direct opposition between the Indian and the Persian terms is generally ascribed to a presumed religious schism in pre-historic times between the two branches of the Indo-Iranian community; but there is considerable uncertainty about the interpretation, and the solution of the problem has not been rendered easier by the fact mentioned below—that the names of two Hindu deities who appear as demons in the Zoroastrian system have recently been found in ancient inscriptions discovered in Asia Minor.

As the Avestan word *daēva* is masculine in gender, the demons in Zoroastrianism are commonly conceived to be of the male sex; but there is a large class of she-devils or female fiends, *drugēs*, derived in name from the feminine abstract *drug*, lit. 'deceit,' the essence of evil in the Avesta, a word comparable with the neuter *drauga*, 'falsehood,' 'lie,' in the Old Persian inscriptions. Besides these she-demons there are numerous other

feminine personifications that embody the elements of sin as much as do their masculine counterparts.

In numbers, according to the Avesta, the hosts of evil are legion (Yt. iv. 2). The Gāthās speak of the demons as 'the seed sprung from evil thought, deceit, and presumption' (Ys. xxxii. 3), and for that reason they are elsewhere described as being 'the seed of darkness' (Vend. viii. 80). Their creator was Ahriman, who brought them forth to wage war against heaven and earth, as is told in the Pahlavi *Bundahishn* (i. 10, xxviii. 1–46); and Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* xlvii.) rightly interpreted the spirit of Zoroastrian demonology when he described Ahriman as having caused a number of demons equal in activity to the Divine forces created by Ormazd to bore through (*διαρρήσας*) the world-egg in which Ormazd had placed his four-and-twenty 'gods' (*θεοί*). Zoroaster's mission was to banish these diabolical creatures from the world, and it is easy to understand why the Avesta should picture the entire body of fiends as taking flight in dismay before him (Ys. ix. 15).

The demons are naturally thought of as spirits or bodiless agents (Av. *mainyava daēva*, 'spiritual demons' [Yt. x. 69, 97; Vend. viii. 31, 80]), though sometimes they are conceived of as having human shape (Ys. ix. 15) in order to accomplish better their fiendish ends. Their purposes are best achieved under the cover of darkness, but their heinous deeds are checked by the rising of the sun (Yt. vi. 3 f.). Their favourite haunt is in proximity to whatever is vile or foul, and they lurk, especially as spooks or goblins, in the vicinity of *dakhmas*, or towers of silence. In certain regions they were believed to be more numerous than in others, the whole province of Mazandaran, south of the Caspian Sea, being supposed to be especially infected by their presence. This legendary association with that territory is as old as the Avesta, and it appears throughout the Pahlavi writings, as well as in the *Shāh Nāmah* of Firdausi (Av. *daēva Māzainya*, Pahl. *Māzanikān dēvān*, Pers. *dīvān-i Māzandarān*). The same tradition was perpetuated in Manichæism, as is proved by allusions to Mazanian demons in the Manichaean texts lately discovered in Eastern Turkestan (see F. W. K. Müller, 'Handschriftenreste aus Turfan,' ii. 18, 19, *ABAW*, Anhang, 1904). The baneful influence of all these ministers of evil could be averted in various ways, and one of the books of the Avesta, the *Vendidad* (*Vidāevadāta*, 'Law against Demons'), is devoted almost entirely to providing man with the means of ridding himself of their power.

As might be imagined, the multitudinous host of evil spirits lacks order and organization. It is, therefore, somewhat difficult to divide them into sharply defined bands, but a rough distinction between the masses may be recognized. At the head of the host stands Anra Mainyu, or Ahriman, 'the Enemy Spirit,' the prince of darkness personified. The chief characteristics of Anra Mainyu, or Angra Mainyu, as he is termed in the Gāthās, have been discussed in a separate article (see AHRIMAN), and need only to be designated here as maleficent in the extreme. Next in power to Ahriman stand six arch-fiends as eminent commanders of the legions of sin. Then follows a confused horde of wicked spirits framed to bring misery and distress into the world. These two bands in their broad grouping will be considered in turn.

The sixfold group of arch-fiends that are gathered as aides about the standard of Ahriman and form the council of hell (cf. Yt. xix. 96; Dink. ix. 21. 4; Bd. xxviii. 7 ff. and xxx. 29) are portrayed in Zoroastrian literature as endowed with various evil

qualities and as discharging multifarious diabolical functions. Their names are Aka Manah (Evil Thought), Indra, Sanru, Nāonhaithya (parallel with three Indian deities), Taurvi and Zairicha (personifications respectively of overpowering hunger and deadly thirst), and, lastly, Aēsma, the demon of fury, rapine, lust, and outrage. The fact that three of these demoniacal names are identical with gods in the Indian pantheon has been alluded to above, but their figures on the whole are not really sharply defined, though their malign characters are several times alluded to in the passages which enumerate them (*Vend.* x. 9f., xix. 43; *Bund.* i. 27, xxviii. 7-12, xxx. 29; *Ep. Man.* i. x. 9; cf. also *Dāt.* xciv. 2; *Dink.* ix. 34). Reference has likewise been made to the fact that in the inscriptions of the Hittite kings of the 14th cent. B.C., recently discovered by Winckler at Boghaz-keui in Asia Minor, the names Indra and Nasatya—the latter noteworthy by its Indian form (with *s*) in contrast to the Iranian form Nāonhaithya (with *h*)—appear as divinities and not as demons. Until the full connexion of the passages in these inscriptions is made known by the discoverer, it appears premature to theorize in regard to the possible bearing of the allusions upon the mooted question of the presumed Indo-Iranian religious schism. The mention may be merely a direct reference to Indian deities without having any immediate connexion with Iran.

Of all the sixfold group of arch-fiends, the most clearly defined is the assaulting and outrageous demon *Aēsma*, whose name has been thought to be reflected as *Asmodeus* in the Book of Tobit (see F. Windischmann, *Zoroastr. Studien*, Berlin, 1863, p. 138; A. Kohnt, *Jüd. Angelologie und Dämonologie*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 75; F. Spiegel, *Erän. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1877, ii. 132; E. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, Haarlem, 1898, p. 263; J. H. Moulton, 'The Iranian Background of Tobit,' in *ExpT* xi. [1900] 258; for the opposing view, see Ginzberg, in *JE* ii. 217-220).

By the side of these six arch-demons there are named in the Avesta and supplementary Zoroastrian texts more than fifty other demons, personifications of evil forces in the world (for the complete list, see Jackson, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 659-662). It will suffice to mention a few of these, such as *Tarōmaiti*, 'Arrogance'; *Mithaoxta*, 'False Speech'; *Azi*, 'Greed' (a demon that is preserved likewise in Manichæism [cf. Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22, 23, 53]); *Vizaresa*, or the fiend that drags the souls of the wicked to hell; *Būsyāstā*, a typification of inordinate sleep and sloth; *Astō-vidātu*, who divides the bones at death; *Apaōša*, 'drought'; *Zemaka*, 'winter'; and a score or more of personified malignant forces.

The special cohort of fiends (*drujes*), as already noted, is headed by the *Druj* paramount, or the feminine embodiment of deceit and falsehood, who draws in her train a ribald crew of followers, corporeal and incorporeal, entitled in the Avesta *dregvants*, or *drevants*, 'the wicked.' Foremost among these agents in exercising pernicious activity is the *Druj Nasu* (cf. Gr. *νεκρός*), 'corpse-fiend,' the veritable incarnation of pollution and contagion arising from the decomposition of a dead body. Of a similar character in the Avesta is *Ithyēja Maršaona* (*Vend.* xix. 1, 43, xviii. 8; *Yt.* vi. 4, xiii. 130), the same as *Sēj* in the Pahlavi texts (*Bund.* xxviii. 26; *Dink.* ix. 21. 4, vii. 4. 37), a form of wasting decay and decrepitude that creeps on unseen. Particularly malign in her influence is another fiend, *Jahū*, 'harlot' (cf. *Yt.* iii. 9, 12, 16), who embodies the spirit of whoredom destructive to mankind; while little better are the seductive

Pairikās, 'enchantresses' (the late Persian *Peris*) and their male partners, *Yātus*, 'sorcerers.'

Among demoniacal monsters is *Azhi Dahāka*, 'the Serpent Dahāka,' a tyrant out of whose shoulders grew two snakes from a kiss imprinted between them by Ahriman. Throughout Zoroastrianism this hideous being is represented as the personification of the thousand years of oppressive rule over Iran by the Babylonian Empire in early days; and he appears equally in the derived demonology of Manichæism (cf. Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 19, 37), as well as in Armenia (above, vol. i. p. 800), while his name, with the signification of 'dragon,' is even found in Slavic (Berneker, *Slav. etymolog. Wörterb.*, Heidelberg, 1908 ff., p. 36). A dozen other execrable creatures in the diabolical list might be mentioned as agents of Ahriman in his warfare against the kingdom of Ormazd, but the list is already long enough to prove the important part which demonology played in Zoroastrianism.

It should, however, be noted that there were yet other demons in Zoroastrianism whose names are not found in the extant Iranian literature. Here belong Khrūra, the son of Ahriman (al-Birūnī, *Chron. of Ancient Nations*, tr. Sachau, London, 1879, pp. 108, 398), and Mahmi, whom Ezriq (*Against the Sects*, tr. J. M. Schmid, Vienna, 1900, p. 109) describes as revealing to Ormazd the secret plans of Ahriman (for the place occupied by Iranian demons in pre-Christian Armenia see above, vol. i. p. 779 f.).

LITERATURE.—For fuller details and more extensive bibliographical material, see A. V. Williams Jackson, 'Die iran. Religion,' in Geiger-Kuhn's *GrP* ii. [Strassburg, 1901] 646-688. For material relating to the discovery in Asia Minor of inscriptions with the names of the Indian deities Indra and Nasatya, who appear as demons in Zoroastrianism, see H. Winckler, in *Mitteilungen der deut. Orientalgesellschaft*, 1907, no. 35; and cf. the discussions by E. Meyer, in Bezenberger-Kuhn's *Zeitschr. f. vergleich. Sprachwissenschaft*, xlii. [1908] 1-27; Jacoby, in *J.R.A.S.* 1909, pp. 721-726, 1910, pp. 456-461; and Oldenberg, *ib.* 1910, pp. 846-854. The most recent material in regard to the occurrence of Zoroastrian demons in Manichæan writings will be found in the discoveries made by the German Imperial Expedition at Turfan in Eastern Turkestan (see F. W. K. Müller, 'Handschriftenreste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan,' in *ABA W.* Anhang, 1904, and other later publications now being issued in the same series).

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Roman).—The Romans and Latins, and the races of Italy who were nearest of kin to them, appear to have possessed but little in the nature of mythology or folklore before they passed under the spell of the Hellenic culture. The early Italic conception of the supernatural power had not much about it that was definite or personal. There was a vague consciousness of a Divine influence (*numen*) which worked in different spheres and with different manifestations; but the allotment of distinct departments to clearly conceived personages, more or less superhuman, and the gradation of these personages to form a hierarchy, were alien to primitive Italic thought and feeling. In the earliest form of belief, only two classes of beings were intermediate between the human and the Divine. These were the souls of the dead, and certain spirits who attended on the lives of individual human beings.

We shall first deal with these attendant spirits, who, when attached to men, bore the name *genius*, and, when they guarded women, had the title of *juno*. These creations are racy of the soil of Italy, and the faith in them was less affected by contact with the Greeks than any other article of indigenous Italic religion. It hardly needs to be said that the history of culture affords innumerable parallels to this notion of an invisible personality, separable from, yet closely attached to, the life of the visible man. The *fravashī* of the Persians and

the *ka* of the Egyptians were not unlike, and the Greeks viewed the *psyche* in a somewhat similar fashion. Even barbarous peoples often abstract from the individual some striking characteristic or characteristics which they contemplate as belonging to a more or less spiritual person distinct from the man himself. Such a concept is the *genius*, and the power which was at first isolated from the man himself by the Italic tribes, and treated by them as mysterious and in some sense supernatural, was the power of propagating the race. This appears clearly in the expression *lectus genialis*, applied to the marriage bed, which was originally always placed in the *atrium* of the old Roman house. The corresponding power in the case of the matron is her *juno*, and the later goddess Juno is merely a generalization and a glorification of the separate *junones*. That no parallel god emerged on the male side is an anomaly of a common kind. In the *genius* were also embodied all faculties of delight, so that phrases such as *indulgere genio*, 'to do one's *genius* a pleasure,' and *defraudare genium*, 'to cheat the *genius* of an enjoyment,' were common. But the intellectual qualities which we denote by the borrowed word '*genius*' never specially pertained to this ancient spirit, though *ingenium* lies very close to *genius* by its structure. The *genius* and the *juno* were at first imagined not only to come into existence along with the human beings to whom they were linked, but also to go out of existence with them. Yet they could exercise strong control not only over the fortunes, but over the temperaments of their companions. There was undoubtedly a sort of fatalism connected with the belief in spirits. The Greeks often conceived that a particular *tyche*, or 'fortune,' accompanied the lives of men in a similar manner, and therefore they usually represented *genius* by *τύχη*. But occasionally *δαίμων* is viewed exactly in the light of the Roman *genius*. In a well-known passage (*Ep.* II. ii. 188), Horace does not hesitate to call the *genius* a god, though he at the same time declares him to be subject to death. The snake was the common symbol of the *genius* and the *juno*; hence the pairs of snakes which are painted on the walls of many houses at Pompeii. It was not uncommon to keep a tame snake in the dwelling, and the superstitious believed that the *genius* was incorporated in it. Simple altars were erected to the spirit, and offerings were made to him.

In course of time the ideas attached to the *genius* were in many respects changed and expanded. By a sort of logical absurdity, *genii* of the great gods were invented, and shrines were erected to the *genius* of Jupiter and others, while any collection of human beings gathered together, in a city, for instance, or a gild (*collegium*), or a camp, might have its attendant spirit. Thus a *genius publicus* was worshipped at Rome. But the imagination that things or places not connected with men were thus companioned—an imagination involved in such phrases as *genius sacre annonæ* or *genius loci*—sprang up only in a late age. In the Imperial time, the severance between the Emperor's *genius* and his tangible personality had many notable consequences, and subserved some political purposes. Augustus was able to allow the veneration of his *genius* to become part of the public worship of Rome without flouting Roman prejudice, though he was compelled (officially) to confine the dedication of his person to the provinces. When it became customary for oaths to be taken by the Emperor's *genius*, it was possible to introduce a secular punishment for perjury, which had previously been left to the Divine vengeance.

When Eastern religious influences spread over the Western part of the Roman Empire, and new

developments in philosophy aided these influences in transforming culture, old ideas concerning the *genius* underwent contamination. The *genius*, which had been supposed to die with the man, was now held to be identical with the soul which survived the body. Hence on the later tombstones this name sometimes describes the spirit of the deceased. Servius, the commentator on Virgil, tells us that the vulgar did not clearly distinguish between *genii*, *lares*, and *manes*. This confusion had been helped by learned speculation from the time of Varro onwards. We must, therefore, now consider Roman and Italic beliefs concerning the state of the dead.

That a cult of the departed existed from primitive times is clear from many indications. The earliest form of the Roman calendar notes several purificatory ceremonies for the appeasement of the ghostly world. The vanished spirits were not without an influence over the living which was to be dreaded. The month of February took its name from one of the deprecatory observances (*Februa*). Each family in the community had its special concern with the ritual. The ghosts were supposed to approach some openings in the earth, to which the name *mundus* was given. Such was the spot called *Terentum* or *Tarentum* in the Campus Martius, and another place in front of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. The ceremony called *lustratio* ('purification'), which was performed for the newly-born child, for the army in the field in times of superstition and panic, and for the whole assemblage of past and present warriors every five years (when the censors were said *condere lustrum*), seems to have had its origin more in fear of the unregarded dead than in any sense of sin in face of the offended gods; and the ornament called *bulla* worn by the Roman child appears to have contained charms originally intended to ward off ghostly anger, to which the young were specially exposed. Ancient scholars believed that the worship of the *lares*, or household spirits, was one form of the cult of the dead, and, till recently, they were followed by the moderns. There is, however, much evidence to show that the veneration of the *lares* began outside the house. The earliest mention of them is in the ancient hymn of the Arval Brothers, where they appear amongst the protecting divinities of the fields. Originally each house possessed only one *lar familiaris*, and the use of *lares* to mean 'a household' is not earlier than the late Republic. It is possible that the *lar familiaris* was at first the mythical founder of the separate family, just as each *gens* had its mythical ancestor. But the existence from early times of *lares* in every *compitum*, or quarter of the city, and of *lares permarini* and other *lares* connected with localities, points the other way. And the worship connected with them was joyous in character, not funereal. The scholars who identified the *lares* with the departed souls were influenced, perhaps, by a supposed but improbable connexion between *lar* and *larva* (which is the name for an unsatisfied and, therefore, dangerous ghost), and by the primitive custom of burying the dead within the house of the living. The phrase *di manes*, which is familiar to us on Roman tombstones, appears to have been the earliest applied to the general divinities who ruled the world of shades. Their appearance in Roman religion must have been comparatively late. The term *manes*, properly 'good' or 'kindly,' is euphemistic, like the name *Eumenides*, given to the Greek Furies. The application of *manes* to disembodied men is secondary, especially when the word indicates a single ghost. Yet, from an early time, the ancestors in the other world were deemed to be in a sense Divine, and were called

divi parentis. The *lemures* are the same as the *larvae*, the spirits with whom, for whatever reason, the living find it hard to maintain a permanent peace. The name is connected with *Lemuria*, a purificatory ceremony held at Rome in the month of May.

When the West was invaded by the religions of the East, including the Christian, and when philosophy, especially in the hands of the Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic schools, developed much mystical doctrine about things Divine, the belief in beings who were more than men and less than gods became universal. The whole world now abounded in demons of limited power for good or evil. The testimony to this persuasion is scattered broadcast over later literature, from Apuleius onwards, and over the remains of Imperial art. The deified emperors were like the Greek *heroes*, and to them the name *divi*, which had in earlier days not been distinguished from *dei*, was appropriated. Magic and astrology blended with the faith in demons, which, when Christianity prevailed, were regarded as wholly bad, and were identified with heathen divinities. The minds of men were laden with a burden of which they were not relieved till rationalism sprang out of the Reformation movement.

LITERATURE.—Information on the subject may be obtained from the articles on 'Inferni,' 'Genius,' 'Lares,' and 'Manes,' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, London, 1890-1; in the *Dict. des Antiquités de Dairemberg-Saglio*, Paris, 1886 ff.; and in Roscher's *Lex. der Mythologie*, 1884 ff. The work of Wissowa on Roman Religion in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Alterthumswissenschaft*, Munich, 1892 ff., is important. For the cults of the dead, Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, and his Gifford Lectures, entitled *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, may be consulted; and for the later belief in demons, Dill's *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904. Many illustrations are to be found in Frazer's *GB*, 1900.

J. S. REID.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavic).—There is abundant evidence of the persistence of the belief in demons and spirits among the Slavic peoples even to the present day, especially in districts where primitive ideas and customs have not yielded to the advance of civilization. Popular imagination traces the agency of supernatural beings in every part of the surrounding world—house and home, field and forest—and sees in every nook and corner the possible hiding-place of an invisible spirit, which, however, may on occasion assume a visible form. In seeking to classify these beings under leading categories, it is often difficult to determine which of them are to be regarded as products of the animistic stage of thought, and which, on the other hand, should be described rather as demons, demanding the prayers, offerings, and worship of human beings. As to the various classes of demons themselves, such as dream-spirits and spirits of disease, domestic spirits and Nature-spirits, it is likewise no easy task to draw distinct lines of demarcation between them.

The origin of demonic beings is explained in a cosmogonic legend of dualistic character, which, it is true, belongs to a relatively late period, and is derived from a foreign source.

According to this story, which is widely known among the Slavs, the Evil principle existed from the first, and quite independently of the Good. As a result of the combined work of both—God and Satan—the world itself came into being. Satan, in the form of a water-fowl, made his way to the bottom of the primal ocean, and in his beak brought up rock and sand, with which materials God then framed the world. Satan, however, secretly retained in his mouth a portion of the sand, and made therewith all the rugged and inaccessible places—mountains, crags, morasses, straits, and barren lands. Satan then tried to drown God, who, fatigued with the effort of creation, was now asleep, and to this end he dug holes in the surface of the earth, and caused floods to gush forth therefrom: thus arose great waters and abysses, into which, however, Satan himself was at length thrust by the power of God. Moved by envy of the Deity, Satan also essayed the work of creation, and noxious plants and animals are the result of his efforts. Desiring to

form a retinue for his own service such as would correspond to the angelic hosts of God, he was advised by the latter to wash his hands, and to allow the water to drop from his fingers behind him. From these drops sprang an innumerable multitude of evil spirits, who own him as their head. It is believed in Russia that the same thing takes place whenever a person engaged in washing himself lets the water drip around him.

According to another form of the legend, good angels and demons were produced from a stone upon which blows were dealt by God and Satan respectively. Satan's arrogance and the growth of his retinue induced him at last to make an open revolt, with the result, however, that the archangel Michael hurled the wicked host from the celestial battlements. The ejected demons fell between heaven and earth; one remained in the air, another in the forest, a third in water, etc., while the rest sank down into the under world. This explains why demons have their secret habitations in all places—in the air, in woods, waters, and the like. It is a popular belief that the conflict between the Good and the Evil principle still endures, and manifests itself in thunder and lightning. The thunderstorm is brought about by the thunder-god—Elijah or Michael—who pursues the evil host with a bolt of fire. Every object injured, every person or animal killed, by the lightning-flash affords unmistakable evidence of the fact that some evil demon was fleeing before his heavenly pursuer, and had sought shelter in the neighbourhood of the person or animal or object struck, and that, while the Divine missile destroyed the cowering demon, it did not spare the innocent object that chanced to be near. Thus arose the belief that a human being killed in a thunderstorm wins salvation, as also the notion that the wood of a tree shattered by lightning contains a powerful counteractive to the work of evil spirits.

The people of Little Russia explain the genesis of demons by another myth, which, however, is not nearly so widely known as that which we have just sketched. According to them, evil spirits are the children of Adam. Our first parents, it is related, had twelve pairs of children, but on one occasion, when God came to visit them, Adam tried to conceal half of his offspring from the Divine eye. The children who were thus hidden were transformed into demons.

Although many demons are destroyed in their warfare against God and good men, yet their numbers are not diminished. On the contrary, their ranks are always being reinforced, either by marriages amongst themselves, from which issue new generations, or by sexual intercourse with human beings. Further, their numbers may be recruited by the human children who become demons—a transformation which takes place when a child is cursed by its parents, or dies unbaptized, or when it is taken away by the demons and a changeling (*q.v.*) left in its place. The powers of evil also gain possession of all who die a violent death, such as suicides and children overlain in sleep; hence the idea that it is dangerous to try to save a person in the act of committing suicide, or one who is drowning, etc., as the devil will feel himself wronged in being balked of his expected victim, and may take vengeance upon the rescuer.

The demons are believed to come into touch with human life in various ways. They injure man by causing accident and disease, or they give him help and protection. A common idea is that a demon sits upon the left shoulder of every human being, ready to take possession of him at any moment of weakness, and it is therefore advisable that when a person yawns he should guard his mouth by making the sign of the cross, and so prevent the fiend from gaining an entrance into his body. But, if an individual makes a compact with the devil, signing over his soul in a document subscribed in his own blood, the devil undertakes on his part to serve the man in every possible way, and especially to make him rich. In the course of ages Satan has taught mankind many crafts. It was from him that people learned the arts of iron-working, brewing, and distilling, as also the use of tobacco. He was the discoverer of fire; he built the first mill and the first waggon. The arts of reading and writing were acquired from him. Moreover, when Satan is in a good humour, he finds amusement in plaguing human beings; he likes to beguile the belated traveller from the right way, to worry the driver by causing a breakdown in the middle of the road, or to play tricks upon a drunk man. He may appear under the disguise of a

friend or a lover, and it is even believed that he can serve his minions by taking their place in the ranks of the army. It is also said that, when he wishes to gratify his lust, he visits witches in the form of a flying fiery serpent; such, for example, are the *Letavitsa* of the Huzules and the Polish *Latawiec*, which sometimes assume the form of a man, sometimes that of a fascinating maiden.

It is with witches that the evil spirits and demons have their most active intercourse. At certain seasons, and especially on the principal feast days of the Church, the witches fly away to the meeting-places of the demons, where they drink, dance, and wallow in debauchery. The demons on their part are ready to abet the witches in carrying out those magical operations which, according to popular notions, require the support of supernatural agency. Such, for instance, are the machinations by which the sorcerer causes untimely births, incites love, sows dissension among friends—anything, in a word, which does mischief to mankind. The transactions are performed in the name of the evil spirit, and, when they are followed by an adjuration, this usually takes the form of an appeal 'to the host of unclean spirits conjointly with Satan,' praying that they will work harm to the person the sorcerer has in view. Such an adjuration of the infernal spirits implies, of course, that the sorcerer has by word and action taken the final step in his abandonment of the Christian faith and of all that the Church counts virtuous and laudable. He takes the cross from his neck and tramples upon it; he avoids the use of sacred words, and declares himself an apostate from Christ and His saints. A person who has thus given himself to Satan has something forbidding in his very appearance; it is believed that he no longer washes himself or combs his hair. In Little Russia, a woman who desires to become a witch goes at midnight to some river, whence the evil spirit comes forth to meet her. But she must previously have trodden a saint's image under foot, and removed the cross from her neck.

According to the popular superstition,—reflected also in the language of incantations,—the evil spirits dwell somewhere in the North or West, in a 'nocturnal' land, while the good angels are in possession of the realm lying to the East. The region peopled by demons is dark, shrouded in mist and cloud, and lies deep down in an abyss. Another belief, and one which is widely diffused, is that the hosts of Satan live in a subterranean region, whence they issue forth upon the world at the bidding of their prince; or in deep waters, unclean places, dense forests, and marshes, where the sun never shines. Bushes of elder and willow by the water-side are in some localities believed to be the favourite haunts of demons. They leave their lurking-place in the vicinity of water on the 6th of January, i.e. Epiphany, when the priest blesses the water; they then migrate to an abode in the meadows. In Passion-week, again, when the meadows are consecrated, they pass into trees and cornfields, and then, at the festival on the 1st of August, they leave the apple-tree—which is consecrated on that day—and return to their own element. Another favourite resort of demons is the cross-roads (*q.v.*), where evil spirits come together from all quarters of the world. The mill and the uninhabited house are also well adapted to supply a lodging for demons. They like to tarry in the neighbourhood of a spot where treasure is concealed. On Easter Eve and the Eve of St. John, when the bracken is supposed to flourish, the demons endeavour to prevent the blossoms, which possess extraordinary magical virtues, from falling into the hands of human beings. At the hour of noon they muster at their

favourite spots on the banks of lakes and rivers, and it is therefore dangerous to linger in the open at that time. There is, indeed, a special midday-demon, the *Bés poludennyj*. It is believed that the spirits retire from the earth and return to Hell in the middle of November, only, however, to resume their expeditions in spring, when Nature re-awakes from her winter sleep.

Hell, the nether lake of fire and smoke, is, in a special sense, the home of these evil spirits. Here *Lutsiper*, with his wife and attendants, swims and sails about, torturing the souls of the dead. The place of eternal life is depicted as a bathroom or stove, in the heat of which the souls are tormented. The belief in hell-fire and the discovery of iron have conspired to foster another notion, viz. that the demons are smiths. In Russian incantations we find mention of three such demonic smiths, the three being brothers. The idea of a triad of fiends is also current in the folk-lore of other Slavic countries. The oldest demon of all, *Lutsiper*, is very frequently referred to as *Herod*—a name which probably denotes both the murderer of the innocents and the slayer of John the Baptist. Other names applied to the devil are 'the hetman' (of his hosts), Judas, Velzevul (i.e. Beelzebub), and Satan. According to the legends, the chief of the infernal forces is bound with a chain, which, however, in consequence of the sins of men, wears thin, and would long ere this have given way altogether, but for the fact that, in virtue of Christ's resurrection, it is restored at every Easter-tide to its original strength.

In addition to the demons named above, we find here and there a large and powerful female being, whose figure, embellished with many a fantastic feature, plays a great part in Slavic legendary lore. This is the *Baba-jaga* (Russ.), *Jedza* (Pol.), or *Ježibaba* (Slovak), a hideous old beldam, whose children are the evil spirits, or who, as the 'devil's dam,' sends forth her subject spirits into the world. She is said to steal children for the purpose of gratifying her craving for human flesh; to fly in company with the spirit of death, who gives her the souls of the dead for food; and to stir up storm and tempest in her flight. The legends also tell that she has teeth and breasts of iron, with which she rends her victims, and that her home is in a far-distant forest.

Among other Slavic names applied to evil spirits may be mentioned the following: *bert* (Bohem.), *dort* (Russ.), *czart* (Pol.); *djaval* (Russ.), *djabel* (Bohem.); *bés*, *vrag* ('adversary'), *lukavij* ('the crafty'), *kutsyj* ('short-tail'), *nečistyj* ('the unclean'), *dedjko* ('grandfather'). The last-mentioned (Little Russian) epithet is applied to both the domestic spirit and the devil, and in this it resembles the Bohem. *děblik*, i.e. 'house-goblin' (cf. *děblik*=*diabolus*, as also the Bohem. *spiritus* [= Lat. *spiritus*], Slovak *pikulik*, which corresponds to the O. Pruss. *pickule*). This is one of the numerous facts which indicate that heathen demonology and the Christian conception of the devil coalesced in the idea of a single 'unclean power.' In order to avoid giving offence to the demon by uttering his name, the people refer to him simply in the third person, as 'he' or 'himself.'

The demons are represented also as capable of assuming human form, and as having the qualities and propensities of human nature. It is to be noted, however, that such anthropomorphic demons show in every case some peculiar feature which distinguishes them from mankind. Thus, the demon's body may be black, or covered with hair; or he may have a horn, or a tail. In many instances he is remarkably small. Occasionally he can be recognized by his red and fiery eyes, or by the absence of some prominent organ of the body, such as an eye or an ear; or, again, by the resemblance of his feet and ears to those of a domestic animal. A lame person, or one without eyelashes, is suspected of being a demon. The water-spirit often appears in human form, and his real nature is then recognizable only by the water that oozes

from his hair and clothes. The devil, again, has a special liking for music, and dances to it. He is likewise fond of drinking and card-playing. Demonic beings have strong erotic tendencies; one of their common manoeuvres is to waylay women and girls, or, again, to appear before a young man in the guise of a beautiful and alluring maiden. It may also be mentioned that some demons even demand food, but, as immaterial beings, may be put off with mere odours and fumes.

Demonic beings stand in awe of things connected with the Church, and consecrated objects generally; and these accordingly are the most potent amulets against their evil practices. Of such prophylactic articles the most important is the cross; and everything that bears that symbol shares its power. Other effective expedients are found in sacred tapers, incense, holy water, and the consecrated palm. A person who wishes to clear his house of evil spirits resorts with all confidence to prickly plants, as well as to the fern and garlic. In Servia, rubbing the breast with garlic is practised as a means of protection against a spirit that flies about by night. It is also believed that the demons have an aversion to wheat and flax, as the consecrated wafer is prepared from the former, and holy oil from the latter. The glowing firebrand is in all cases a powerful specific against demonic agency.

Those demons and demonic spirits which make their abode in human beings—the witch, the vampire, the demoniac—have also the power of assuming an almost endless variety of form. When pressed hard by a thunderstorm, they may change into a cat or a goat. Innumerable stories are told of their having been seen in the shape of a horse, a pig, a dog, a sheep, a mouse, a hare, a bird, a peacock, a hen, a magpie, a butterfly, a fiery serpent, or even a ball of yarn. The Servian sorceress, the *Vještitsa*, harbours a demonic spirit, which leaves her during sleep, and, flying among the houses in the shape of a bird or a butterfly, feeds upon the people—especially children—whom she finds asleep, tearing out and devouring their hearts. The *Jedogonja* of the Serbs, again, may remain invisible. The *Jedogonja*-spirits are said to fight with one another among the mountains, their missiles being huge boulders and uprooted trees. Upon their influence depends the state of the weather, and thus also the fruitfulness of the soil.

A special instance of demonic metamorphosis is found in the Slavic werewolf—the *Vukodlak* (Bohem.), *Vovkulak* (Lit. Russ.), *Vukodlak* (Serbo-Croat.), *Vlūkolak* (Bulg.). The werewolf is a man who can change himself into a wolf, or who has really become a wolf by the enchantment of a witch. The belief in such transformations has been widely current for centuries; as far back as the 13th cent., eclipses of the sun and moon were attributed to the werewolf. The werewolf figures largely in legend. A person who has the power of changing at will into a wolf always shows some point of difference—e.g. in his birth or in his appearance—from other people. It is believed that his father was a wolf, and that he himself was born into the world feet first. In the upper part of his body he resembles a human being, while the lower part suggests the wolf. He has also a wolf's teeth and heart. To become a werewolf is a matter of no great difficulty. One need only drink a little water taken from the footprints of a wolf, or turn over a fallen tree, and then put on a wolf's skin; on the night thereafter the werewolf appears, bringing terror to man and beast. In some districts of Bulgaria it is believed that the *Vlūkolak* is a spirit which has been formed from the blood of a murdered man, and that he haunts the scene of the murder, and causes the place to become arid.

Among all the Slavic peoples, and especially

among the Serbs, the werewolf is often confounded with the vampire or *upir* (Serv. *vampir*, Lit. Russ. *upyr*). The vampire is the soul of a dead man, which comes forth out of the grave for the purpose of working injury upon the living. The Serbs believe that impious people, and especially witches, become *Vukodlaks* after death, and drink the blood of sleeping persons. When an unusually large number of deaths take place in a village community, the calamity is attributed to the *Vukodlak*. Word passes from mouth to mouth that the ghostly evil-doer has been seen as he moved around with the mortcloth upon his shoulders. The people then go to the churchyard for the purpose of identifying his grave. They take with them a foal, and the grave upon which the foal stands still is opened, and the body taken out and impaled with a stake of blackthorn or hawthorn. In other districts similar measures are resorted to when the people seek to deliver their homes from the nocturnal visits of the vampire. In Russia, for instance, a stake of aspen or maple is thrust into the corpse, or else the grave, of the person upon whom suspicion has fallen. In some districts the corpse is burned, or the blood-vessels severed below the knee. Besides the vampire of the dead, however, who finds pleasure in tormenting sleeping persons by night, we hear also of a living vampire, viz. the witch, a being endowed with demonic power, who is able to kill people, to bring disease and misfortune, and to cause stormy weather. Moreover, all ungodly persons, and all who have been cursed by their fellow-men, or have died by violence, become vampires. We hear also of vampires who were originally children begotten of mankind by the devil, or children who died unbaptized. In point of fact, any ordinary individual is liable to the repulsive transformation after death; if an unclean animal or bird—dog, cat, magpie, cock—springs casually over his dead body, or if he is not buried according to the ordinary ritual of the Church, he thereby becomes a vampire. The vampire can be recognized in the grave by the fact that his corpse does not decay, but retains a ruddy colour in the face, and has the mouth smeared with blood. His limbs bear marks which show the gnawing of his own teeth. When at length he begins to drink human blood, he assumes the form of an animal, or, indeed, of an object of any kind. We may also note here that, according to a popular superstition in Little Russia, every witch is subject to an *upyr*, who was born with her and with whom she co-habits.

To the same class of tormenting spirits belong the *mora*, *mura*, or *mara* (Russ. and Pol.), *marucha* (Russ.), *kikimora* (Russ.), *morava* (Wend. and Bulg.); cf. the Germ. *Mahr* or *Mahre*, Eng. 'mare,' 'nightmare.' They might be described in almost the same terms as the vampire. They, too, are the souls of living men, which leave their bodies by night, and visit sleepers for the purpose of tormenting them. In Russia and Bulgaria, however, the *mora* is thought to be the soul of a child that has died unbaptized, or has been cursed by its parents; or it is a spirit which dwells in the cemetery and makes itself visible to people as a ghastly black spectre. Popular superstition invests it with certain features which distinguish it from ordinary human beings. The soles of its feet are flat, and its eyebrows meet. A child who at birth has visible teeth, or one who, having been taken from his mother, commences to suck again, eventually becomes a *mora*. A similar development is expected in the case of a child whose mother during pregnancy happens to go out of her room just as the clock strikes the hour of noon. Further, should anything that conflicts with the tradition of the Church take place during baptism, the child being

baptized is thereby doomed to become a *mora*. It is also believed that a witch can voluntarily make herself a *mora*. The characteristic pursuit of a *mora* is to plague her sleeping victims with bad dreams and oppression of the chest, while she is sucking blood from their breasts. During the visitation the sleeper is incapable of speech and motion. But the *mora* does not confine her evil practices to human beings; she likewise torments domestic animals, draining them of milk and blood. Nevertheless, it is not a difficult matter to rid oneself of the cruel attentions of the *mora*. All that is necessary is to offer her a gift of some eatable substance, such as bread, salt, or butter. An effective means of keeping her at bay is to place beside the sleeper some such object as a double triangle (the so-called '*mora's* foot'), a mirror, a broom, a steel article, etc.

The further we trace the *mora* or *kikimora* towards the East, the more does she shed her distinctive characteristics and become identified with the household spirit and the Nature-demon, to which are ascribed the traits which belonged originally to her. She has now become an inmate of the house, revealing her presence by her nocturnal movements; she converses with people, puts them into a state of terror and causes disquiet, raves the work of the sewer or spinner, sits spinning upon the stove, or busies herself with tasks that belong to the housewife. She is a little old woman, and lives behind the stove. When the inmates of the house wish to rid themselves of her presence, they sweep the stove and the corners of the room with a besom, and speak the words: 'Thou must go away from this place, else thou shalt be burned.' In some parts of Russia the *moras* are believed to be repulsive-looking dwarfs, who may be found as crying children among the fields. In Siberia the *kikimora* has become a forest-spirit.

Analogous to the *mora* is the nocturnal demon which is known among the Slovaks, Poles, Serbs, and Russians as the *nočnitsa* ('night-hag'). When a child suffers during the night from some unknown ailment, tossing about and crying, the trouble is set down to the *nočnitsa*, who torments the child by tickling it or sucking its blood, or disturbs its sleep by her mere touch. The liability to such disturbance is attributed to the mother's having neglected to bless her child the evening before. In external appearance the night-hag remains very indistinct; she is simply a female demon who wanders around in the darkness of night. In some localities the *nočnitsas* are supposed to form a group of twelve sisters. It should be noted, moreover, that a similar name, *polunočnitsa*, i.e. 'the midnight-woman,' is sometimes applied to the Virgin Mary. In the Government of Archangel people safeguard themselves from the *nočnitsa* by drawing a circle round the cradle with a knife, or placing the knife within the cradle, or by putting an axe, a doll, and a spindle beneath the floor, or by driving a piece of wood into the wall. The incantations accompanying these actions always contain an expression of the wish that the 'nocturnal *nočnitsa*' will no longer play pranks with the child, but seek to find amusement in the things thus offered her. Sometimes an oblation of bread and salt is made to her, part of it being rubbed upon the head of the fretful child, and the rest placed under the stove. The hag who torments children by night is also known in Russia by the names *kriksy* (cf. *krik*, 'scream') and *plaksy* (cf. *plakat*, 'cry'). In Bulgaria a corresponding part is played by a frightful wood-hag called *gorska makva*, whose head somewhat resembles that of an ox. Among the White Russians the belief has been traced that the nocturnal spirit produces illness in

children from within, having first found his way into their bodies.

This superstition introduces us to the *demons of disease* strictly so called. Certain diseases are commonly believed to emanate from demonic beings who have found an entrance into the body of their victim, and thence proceed to torment him. This holds good in particular of fevers, epilepsy, insanity, and plague. Among the White Russians, when the nature of the malady cannot be determined, it is supposed that the patient is tormented by an 'unclean power.' In such cases the body of the afflicted person is rubbed with a piece of bread, which is then carried to a cross-way by night; here the *Dobrochot* (a pet-name for the demon, especially the domestic spirit) is entreated to accept the offering thus made, and to absolve the sick man. Those engaged on an errand of this kind must not cross themselves. Here we have a vestige of the cult of the dead; sometimes, indeed, it is said in so many words that the offering is intended for the dead. There are occasions upon which an individual may very easily fall into the power of the demon of disease. Such an occasion is birth, together with a certain period thereafter, lasting usually until the child is baptized. It is imagined that the unclean spirits swarm round the house of the mother, and resort to every possible means of working injury both to her and to her child.

The demon of fever is believed to be one of the three, seven, twelve, or seventy-seven so-called *Lichoradka*-sisters (*lichoradka* = 'fever'). In order to secure her good graces the people speak of her by such endearing epithets as 'god-mother' and 'aunt.' She wanders over the whole world, causing illness wherever she goes, and is represented either as an ugly, lean, naked, and hairy beldam, or as a young and beautiful nymph. Offerings are presented to her with a view to warding off her attacks. If the infection has come by way of the earth, an oblation of corn is made at the particular spot. But the gift is more frequently cast into the water. The fever-patient himself cuts an egg into seventy-seven pieces, which he then throws into a river as he utters the words: 'Ye are seventy-seven; here is a portion for each of you; eat, and meddle not with me.' When the festival commemorating the dead is celebrated in White Russia, the *Lichoradka* gets a share of the feast. Among other measures adopted in battling with the disease, the following is of special interest. An attempt is made to deceive the demon in such a way as will prevent her recognizing the sick person when she returns to attack him again. The patient's name is changed; his face is covered with a mask, and words are written on the door to say that he is not at home. Another expedient for scaring the demon is to fire a gun. The diseased person is made to eat bitter and fetid things, or he is fumigated with some evil-smelling substance, in order to render the demon's sojourn within the body as uncomfortable for herself as possible. The most reliable prophylactic of all, however, is a certain incantation in which occurs an interesting story about the origin of the *Lichoradka*-demons. According to this incantation, they are the daughters of Herod, and the oldest and most ferocious of all is the one on whose account John the Baptist was put to death. At the command of their father they issue forth from their subterranean home to plague the inhabitants of the earth.

A frequent disguise of the demon of pestilence is the figure of a woman—'the black woman' of the Bulgarians (in Russia, the *Morovaja panna*, *čuma*, or *cholera*; in Serbia, the *kuga*), but it may also take shape as a bird or an animal—a cat, horse, or cow. The *Morovaja panna*, clothed in white and

with dishevelled hair, travels by night from place to place, making her journeys either by waggon or upon the back of some one whom she compels to carry her. Her breath and her touch are fatal to human beings, and she feeds upon the bodies of those whom she slays. The most effective means of warding off her attacks is a furrow traced secretly and by night round the village, with a plough guided by women who are naked or clothed only in a shirt, as the pest-hag dare not cross such a furrow. In many districts the demons of pestilence are believed to be three sisters. A widely current notion is that the afflicted person has in some way given offence to the demon of disease, whose resentment finds vent in the disorder. In such a case it is incumbent upon the invalid to ask forgiveness of the demon. In Russia, for instance, one who is ill with smallpox is taken to another in like case, and makes obeisance to the latter, saying: 'I ask forgiveness, spirit of smallpox; absolve me, daughter of Athanasius, if I have behaved rudely towards thee.' The same purpose is served by speaking of the demon under endearing names, and thus regaining her favour.

Mental derangement, 'possession,' affords one of the clearest instances of the sojourn of a demon in a person's body. Such, for example, is the *ikota* or *klukusestvo* malady prevalent in Russia—a state of supposed demoniacal frenzy which can be induced by the machinations of a witch. At her command the evil spirit takes up his abode within the body of his victim, and makes his presence known by giving vent to abnormal sounds, such as neighing, barking, and the like. The sufferer may be relieved by the use of consecrated objects or the adjurations sanctioned by the Church, or, again, by putting on harness, or by dipping in holy water at the feast of Epiphany. There is, however, another theory of the origin of lunacy: the disease is sometimes attributed to an evil spirit (forest demon, etc.), which of no set design simply flies past a person.

The truculent spirit of pestilence resembles in outward appearance the personified figure of Death—the Bohemian *Smrtná žena* or *Smrtnice*. The latter also is a woman, haggard and dressed in white, who walks beneath the windows of a house in which some one is dying. If she sits down at the head of the bed, the last hope of recovery is gone, but, if she places herself at the foot, the invalid may get well again. The people believe that they can drive away the demon by putting crosses or saints' images upon the bed; but they are ready, on the other hand, to admit that Death is deaf to prayer. In Little Russia and Moravia it is thought that Death lives under the earth, in a room lit by innumerable candles, some of which are just being lit, and others upon the point of going out. The candles stand for human lives, over which Death holds sway. This attribute of power over human life belongs both to the spirit of Death and to the goddess of Fate.

The whole course of a man's life, from its first hour to its last, is pre-ordained at his birth by the goddesses of Fate. This belief, inherited from Greek and Roman mythology, seems to have been prevalent among the Southern and Western Slavs. In the written documents of these peoples, as far back as the 12th cent. A.D., we find mention of these goddesses and of the sacrificial festivals instituted in their honour. Among the Eastern Slavs, on the other hand, the belief in three Fates who control the lives of all human beings does not appear ever to have had any outstanding vogue. Here, in fact, their function was taken over by the *Dolja* (the *Sreda* or 'Fortune' of the Serbs)—a personification of the good or evil fortune of the individual.

When a birth occurs, the newly-born child is visited in the night-time by the three Fates (Serb and Sloven. *Rodjenice*, *Sudnice*, *Sudjenice*; Bohem. *Sudičky*; Bulg. *Roždenici*, *Orisnici*)—beautiful, richly-attired, diaphanous maidens. They ordain the destiny of the child, and determine the manner of its death. It is generally believed that the decisive forecast is that pronounced by the one who speaks last. In order to induce the Fates to assign a favourable destiny to the child, gifts and offerings are presented to them. Among the Southern Slavs and Bohemians these presents are in the form of food—bread, salt, or wine—placed on the table, or, it may be, in hollows among the rocks, as it is believed by the Slovenians that the *Rodjenice* live in rocks and mountains. In Bulgaria, on the evening upon which the visit of the *Orisnici* is expected, it is customary to partake of a special supper, after which three pieces of bread are placed at the head of the newly-born infant, in the hope that they may prove an acceptable offering to the august visitors. It may be incidentally mentioned that the Virgin Mary is sometimes confounded with the goddess of destiny.

The *Dolja* is, so to speak, a family heirloom which descends to a person from his parents. It accompanies him throughout his whole life; it sleeps with him in the cradle, nor does it desert him when he removes to another locality. It resembles the domestic spirit in so far as it works on behalf of its protégé from morning till night; it takes care of his children, does its best to make his land fruitful, brings him corn from other people's fields, promotes his success in fishing, guards his cattle, and, in a word, secures his good fortune and prosperity in every way. On the other hand, the *Dolja* of an unfortunate man, which in Russia is also called *Béda*, 'distress,' *Gore*, 'misery,' or *Zlydni*, 'ill luck,' is a good-for-nothing creature, which dozes idly amongst moss, or tries in every possible way to mar whatever prosperity the man enjoys. In most cases a person's subjugation to the *Zlydni* is an indication that his present employment does not accord with his true vocation. It is sometimes stated that the attendant spirit advises its protégé to choose another pursuit, promising that, if he does so, good fortune will never desert him. The *Dolja* is generally supposed to have the form of a human being, but it should be noted that it need not be of the same sex as the person to whom it belongs. Occasionally, however, its figure is that of an animal—a dog or a cat. It lives under or behind the stove, as is usually the case also with the household spirit. A good *Dolja* may be persuaded by prayers and sacrificial gifts to attend faithfully upon a person. Thus a bride who is setting out for the marriage ceremony prays that the good *Dolja* will sit beside her in the carriage, and that the unfavourable *Dolja* may perish in water. In White Russia the bride says: 'Come out of the stove in the form of a flame and go with me, leaving the room by the chimney.' Young women who wish to be married make pottage, and ask the *Dolja* to take supper with them. A rarer form of the superstition is that there is but one all-embracing *Dolja*, on whom depends the prosperity of every human being. This universal *Dolja* is depicted as an old woman, and as living sometimes in a miserable hovel, and sometimes in a splendid palace. The lot of the newly-born child is determined by the character of the place in which the *Dolja* happens to be residing at the hour of birth.

We proceed next to treat the belief in domestic spirits, the *Domovojs* or *Domoviks*. Many elements in this form of superstition suggest that the being who is worshipped as a household god is really the spirit of the ancestor, or founder of the family, who,

though long dead, still attends to the interests of his descendants. Here and there we find a survival of the belief that all who die in any particular house become its domestic spirits. At the festivals held in commemoration of ancestors, honours are paid to the household spirit as well. In point of fact, the latter is often called *Ded*, or (in Galicia) *Didko*, 'grandfather,' and those who have seen him describe him as a little old man with grey hair and a long beard, clad in old-fashioned garments and resembling in outward appearance the existing head of the family. With the last-mentioned characteristic is connected the designation of 'landlord,' Bohem. *hospodářček*, sometimes given him; cf. the idiomatic use of 'himself.' In certain localities he is referred to as 'the one who lives on the stove,' as the stove is his favourite resort. Although he is not a Christian, he does not like to be spoken of as a 'devil'—an appellation which may enrage him, and incite him to take revenge by visiting with a disease the person applying the term to him. Consequently people are careful not to offend him in this way, even avoiding the use of his right name. It is sufficient to refer to him as 'he' or 'himself.' When any one has fallen ill in consequence of having insulted the household spirit, prayer is made for him thus: 'Perhaps the invalid has uttered foolish words and slighted you, or kept the cattle-shed unclean: forgive him.'

Every house has its *Domovoj*, who has also a wife and even a family. He engages in such tasks as devolve upon the painstaking head of a house. He bestirs himself by night, and people have even seen him as he moves about the yard with a light in his hand, seeming always to have something to do. Strange noises, movements of doors, mysterious voices, etc., heard during the night, are all attributed to him. He is of a merry and facetious disposition, and many of his actions are but manifestations of his good humour. The cleanliness and good order of the establishment are his great aims. A strange *Domovoj*, on the other hand, causes nothing but mischief and inconvenience, and every effort is made to dislodge the intruder. People believe that, in guarding the house, the true *Domovoj* often comes into conflict with some alien household spirit; and it may also be mentioned that he protects the household against the violence of forest-spirits and witches.

When the domestic spirit finds anything about the house not to his liking, he manifests his displeasure in various ways. He indulges in all kinds of violence; throws utensils upon the floor, annoys people and animals in their sleep, and may even destroy the whole place by fire. Like the *mora*, he leaps upon the sleeper, pressing upon him and causing difficulty in breathing. A person with hairy hands who touches the *Domovoj* in the darkness may expect something good to befall him, but to touch him with a smooth or cold hand is a presage of ill-luck. It is believed generally that when something unusual is about to take place in the household, the *Domovoj* gives warning thereof by letting himself be seen, by his movements, or by his faint utterances. We may observe in passing that the Wends believe in a spirit whose special function it is to convey the message of death. This is the *Božaloshtsh*, 'God's plaint,' a little woman with long hair, who cries like a child beneath the window.

When a person moves into another house, or migrates to another district, he prays the household spirit to accompany him. An offering of bread and salt is placed somewhere for the spirit's acceptance, and the head of the house appeals to him with the petition: 'I bow before thee, my host and father, and beseech thee to enter our new dwelling; there shalt thou find a warm place, and

a morsel of provender which has been prepared for thee.' In some localities the housewife heats up the stove of the old house, then draws out the glowing brands, which are to be carried to the new residence, and finally, turning towards the recess at the back, utters the words 'Welcome, grandfather, to the new home!' Occasionally we come upon the belief that, if the old house falls into ruins, or is destroyed by fire, it is a sign that the domestic spirit has never left it. On other occasions likewise, the goodwill of the household spirit is usually secured by means of sacrificial gifts. A dyed egg or other portion of food is placed in the yard for his use, prayer being made at the same time for his friendship. Part of the evening meal is left upon the table in the belief that the *Domovoj* will come in the night and eat it. In the evening, again, broth is placed on the stove, and a meal of eggs on the roof, for the purpose of inducing him to take more interest in the fortunes of the house. Before Lent the head of the house invites the *Domovoj* to supper by going into the yard and bowing towards the four cardinal points, while the meal is allowed to remain on the table during the succeeding night.

In Russia the household spirit is known also by other names, which vary according to the place in which his activity seems to focus. When he lives in the cattle shed, he is called *Chlevnik*; in the yard, *Dvorovoj*; in the drying-kiln, *Ovinnik*; in the bathroom, *Bannik*. A vital condition of successful cattle-rearing is that the *Chlevnik* should have a liking for the cattle, so that he will not molest them by night. The breeder must accordingly try to discover, or else guess, the particular colour of cattle which his *Chlevnik* favours, or the particular place where he wishes the cattle-shed to stand. When an animal is purchased and brought home, it is thought advisable to present an offering of food to the spirit, with the prayer that he will give the new-comer a good reception, guard it from mishap, and provide it with abundant food. In many districts we find the *Domovoj* and the *Chlevnik* included in the group of ill-disposed spirits, and every effort is made to expel them from the homestead, either by striking the walls and corners and sprinkling them with holy water, or by placing upon the roof an overturned harrow or a magpie that has been killed. In the province of Archangel, when the women enter the cattle-shed in the morning, they entreat the *Chlevnik* to go out by the window. The *Bannik* lives in the bathroom, behind the stove or under the seat. It is dangerous for any one to go there alone in the evening or by night, as the spirit who presides there may work him harm. When the inmates of the house bathe, they leave a little water in the bath, and a little soap upon the bench, as it is believed that the *Bannik* and other domestic spirits will wish to bathe a little later. To ensure the prosperity of the bath-room, a black hen is buried under the threshold as a sacrifice. As regards the *Ovinnik*, again, the people beseech him to grant them a successful threshing. He is solicitous that the drying-kiln should not be heated on the great festival-days. Should this be done he may take revenge by destroying the building with fire. When the workers have completed some task in the drying-house, they thank him for his faithful service. Those who desire to be on amicable terms with him drop the blood of a cock round about the kiln.

What has been said above regarding the household spirit applies more particularly to Russia. Among the Western and Southern Slavs, however, a less important place is assigned to him. Here, in fact, he has acquired the attributes of a protective and ministrant spirit. The Galician *didko*,

the Bohemian *setek* ('old one'), *hospodářček*, and *skřítek*, the Wendic *kobud* ('goblin'), the Polish *skrzat*, and the Slovakian *skrat* are each of them ready to give their services on condition that the person requiring help will make a compact with them, or summon them by incantations, or present oblations of food to them. But there are other ways of securing the good offices of such demons. Thus, a man may give a written undertaking assigning to the demon his own soul, or one of his relatives, or some part of his body. The spirit is invoked either under the stove-pipe or at cross-roads. He may also be brought forth from an egg; the egg of a black hen is carried about in the left breast for seven days, after which period the demon comes visibly out of the egg. The spirit, who has the appearance either of a boy or of a little old man, bestows money and corn upon his protégé, protects his property, and foddres his cattle. The Polish *skrzatek* is a winged creature which supplies corn, and, when flying about in the vicinity of houses, steals children. Its Wendic counterpart is the *plon*, a dragon in the form of a fiery sphere; a common saying about a rich man is: 'He has a *plon*.' The *plon* may assume various shapes, and the proper place to confer with him is the cross-roads. The flying dragon *smok* appears in the folklore of all the Slavic peoples. Another widely prevalent idea is that every house has its own 'lucky serpent,' which has its habitat under the floor or the stove, and brings wealth to the house. Among the Bohemians and the Wends it is believed that the house has both a male and a female serpent, the former representing the head of the house, the latter his wife. The death of either of the serpents presages the death of the corresponding human individual. Similarly the Bulgarians have their *stihija* or *tolosom*, a household spirit in the form of a serpent. The *skrat* of Slovenian folklore dwells in woods and mountains—a belief which indicates that this demon was originally a forest-spirit: cf. the *Scrat*, or *Schrat*, of the Germans.

This brings us to the domain of *Nature-demons*, and here we have, first of all, the large group of *forest- and field-spirits*. In Russia the forest-spirit is named *Ljesyj*, or *Ljesovik*, 'wood-king,' in Bohemia, *Hejkal*, or 'the wild man.' In outward appearance he resembles a human being, but his skin and hairy body betray his real nature. The hair of his head is long and his beard is green. Other points that differentiate him from mankind are his solitary eye and his lack of eyebrows. He has the power of changing his size at will, showing himself sometimes as large as a tree and sometimes no taller than grass. He can also transform himself into an animal, his favourite disguise being the shape of a wolf. He is said to retire under the earth during winter. The beasts and birds of the forest are subject to him, and he frequently drives them in huge flocks from one wood to another. In guarding his own particular forest, he sometimes comes into conflict with the demons of other forests and with the water-demon, and the battles that ensue become manifest to man in the falling of trees and the shriek of the storm. The forest-spirit likes to lead people out of their way, enticing them to follow him, and taking them to some dangerous spot. He also kidnaps children, leaving changelings of his own family in their place. Should he happen merely to pass a person, the latter may sicken with disease; nay, one has only to tread upon his footprint and a like unfortunate result follows. The forest-spirit makes his presence known by all kinds of sounds: he laughs, claps his hands, and imitates the cries of various animals. When a person calls and an echo follows, the demon is supposed to be answering him.

One of his favourite amusements is swinging on trees.

The hunter and the herdsman depend for their success upon the good-will of the forest-spirit, and accordingly they offer sacrifices to him and beseech him to make them prosperous. For his acceptance the hunter sets bread and salt upon the trunk of a tree; the herdsman, in order to induce the spirit to keep the wild beasts from his cattle, promises him a cow. If a huntsman will pledge his soul to the demon, the latter will give in exchange success in the chase. The man who desires to make such a bargain turns towards the north, and prays the demon to enter into a covenant of friendship with him; the demon may then show himself favourable to the man's prayer. The White Russians speak of their forest-spirit as *Onufrius*, and in fact they frequently give saints' names to the spirits of the fields and the meadows. It should be noted here that the patron saint of the woods is St. George, and that all wild animals are subject to him.

Besides the male forest-spirit, there are also numerous female spirits of the woods—the Bohem. *Divé ženy*, the Polish *Dziwożony* and *Mamony*, 'wild women.' They, too, resemble human beings in appearance, as also in their manner of life. They are represented as women of enormous stature, with long hair and large breasts. They have their abode in mountain caverns. They are very fond of taking human children in exchange for their own ugly, large-headed offspring, or they simply steal the children. The forest-nymphs, on the other hand, are fair and fascinating creatures, lightly garbed and covered with leaves. They like to dance, and will continue dancing with a man till he dies, unless he happen to know how to free himself from their toils, as, e.g., by turning his pocket inside out. It is believed that a person who accidentally intrudes upon their invisible dancing parties is doomed to die. It sometimes happens that a man marries a wood-nymph, but such a union is very easily dissolved, and, unless the man is all the more circumspect, his spirit-wife may vanish without leaving a trace behind. In certain localities it is supposed that these forest-maidens are human children whom some one has cursed, and that they can deliver themselves from the curse only by marriage with a human being.

The characteristics of the forest-spirits are almost without exception ascribed likewise to the Servian and Bulgarian *Vila* and the Russian *Rusalka*. With regard to the *Vilas* (Bulg. *Samovila*, *Juda-Samovila*, *Samodiva*) the belief still survives that they are the souls of deceased children or virgins. They are beautiful, white-robed, light-footed damsels, who dwell in woods, mountains, and lakes, and fly in the clouds. They too are noted for their dancing and exquisite singing. They have been observed washing their garments and drying them in the sun. They have a considerable amount of intercourse with mankind, and in popular legend they sometimes even intermarry with men. They are represented in folk-songs as the adopted sisters of popular heroes. Should a person excite their resentment, especially by intruding upon their *kolo*-dance, they take revenge by shooting the unfortunate man with their deadly arrows. It is believed among the Bulgarians that blindness, deafness, and apoplexy are the work of the *Samovilas*. The state of the weather depends to some extent on them, as they have the power of causing tempest and rain. In many districts the people offer sacrifices to the *Vilas* in the form of flowers, fruits, or garments, placed upon trees or stones.

What has been said of the *Vilas* holds good, for the most part, also of the Russian *Rusalkas*—deli-

cate female beings who live in forests, fields, and waters. These likewise are souls of the dead, mainly of unbaptized children, and women who have died by drowning. Among the Little Russians and the Slovenians they are sometimes called *Mavki*, *Mavje*, 'the dead.' They are said to solicit human beings for crosses, in the hope that these sacred objects may deliver them from the curse under which they lie. With their ravishing songs in the night they draw people irresistibly into their power, and then tickle them till they die. Another of their means of allurements is the *ignis fatuus*. The Wends, we may note in passing, think that the *Blud*, 'will-o'-the-wisp,' is itself the soul of an unbaptized child. When the crops begin to ripen, the *Rusalkas* find their favourite abode in the cornfields. They have it in their power to bless the earth with fruitfulness. It is also said that they take pleasure in spinning, and that they hang their clothes on trees. During Whitsun-week—a period which in many districts is dedicated to them and to the souls of the departed in general—they come to women in visible form, requesting gifts of shirts and clothes, and such garments are accordingly presented to them by being placed upon trees. The week after Pentecost was in ancient times called 'the week of the *Rusalkas*.' At that season is held 'the escort of the *Rusalkas*,' a procession in which a straw doll representing the *Rusalka* is carried out of the village, then torn to pieces and thrown into the water. This ceremony has been explained as symbolizing the expulsion of the *Rusalkas* from the place, in view of their propensity to inflict damage on the ripening grain. But in all probability the practice was originally connected with the Spring festival. The name *Rusalka*, and the conception of the *Rusalka* festival, had their origin in the Græco-Roman solemnity called 'Rosalia,' 'dies rosae,' observed in spring in memory of the dead. The design of commemorating the dead may still be traced in certain ideas associated with the *Rusalka* festival, as, e.g., in the belief that a person who does not take part in the memorial function for the dead, and does not offer sacrifice to them, thereby becomes liable to the vengeance of the *Rusalkas*. It should also be mentioned that, just as the name *Rusalka* is derived from 'Rosalia,' so the word *Vila* has been explained as a survival from another memorial festival for the dead observed among the Romans, viz. the 'dies violae.'

In some districts a distinction is drawn between forest *Rusalkas* and water *Rusalkas*. The latter have their abode in rivers and cascades; they disport themselves upon the surface of the water, and comb their long hair upon the banks. They also prowl after bathers, and bathing is therefore avoided during the *Rusalka* festival. Similar traits are popularly ascribed to the 'water-man' (Russ. *Vodjanoj*, *Morskoj tsar*; Sloven. *Povodnji*; Wend. *Vodny muž*, *Nyks*; Bohem. *Vodník*, *Hastrman*; Pol. *Topielec*, *Topnik*), and also to the 'water-people,' as it is believed that the water-man has a family—a wife, 'the water-woman,' and children—and even cattle. Every body of water has its presiding demon, who dwells in a magnificent palace far below. A water-spirit can make a new lake for himself, passing out of his old resort in the form of a brook. His favourite haunt is in the vicinity of mills, but, as mills and weirs block his way, he often destroys them in his rage. When any one is drowned, the water-man is the cause, and it is dangerous to rescue a drowning person, as one thereby provokes the animosity of the demon. The souls of those who have died by drowning are immured in his house. He is said to marry women who have been drowned and girls

who have been expatriated. He has, in fact, a special liking for inveigling women into his toils. He plays all sorts of pranks with people; he chases the traveller, or seats himself upon the cart of the belated waggoner; and the victims of his jocularly, fearing his resentment, generally submit without resistance. His power is at its height in the middle of the day, and it is at that time that the female water-wraith of the Wends comes forth from the water. In Bohemia people tell how he dances on clear moonlit nights. He sometimes indulges in strong drink, and, when drunk, makes an uproar and jumps about, thus disturbing the ordinary flow of the stream. It not seldom happens that the water-spirit and the forest-spirit have fierce encounters with each other. When the wife of the water-spirit requires the midwife, he applies for human help. He gives timely warning of coming floods to those with whom he is on friendly terms. Millers and fishermen seek to win his goodwill by sacrifices. For his use the miller casts fat, swine's flesh, or a horse into the water. In former times, when a mill was built, it was the custom to present a live offering—sometimes even a human being—to the water-man. The fisher tenders him salt, bread, tobacco, and the first fish of his catch. The bee-keeper tries to win his good graces by oblations of bees and honey. As the water-man is lord over all aquatic birds, the goose-herd undertakes to make him the offering of a goose in the autumn. We may here draw attention to the curious fact that among the White Russians those who desire success in fishing invoke the aid of Neptune. This classical name was no doubt introduced among the people from literary sources, such as chap-books. The water-man is thought to resemble a human being. Sometimes he is represented as an old man, with a green beard and with green clothing, sometimes as a mere stripling. But he may always be recognized by the water that flows from the border of his garments. He has other forms of disguise at command, however, and may assume the appearance of some known person, or of an animal, such as a dog, a horse, a fish, or a frog. We hear also of a peculiar class of water-spirits which in one half of their body are human, while in the other they resemble a fish or aquatic animal. Such are the Little Russian *Faraony* (the warriors of Pharaoh who were drowned in the Red Sea), *Boginky*, *Memoziny*, *Meljuziny*; the Slovenian *Morske deklíce*; and the Bulgarian *Stija*. The last-named are remarkable for their long hair, which they sometimes employ to choke those who fall into their power.

We have already mentioned that the middle of the day ranks in popular superstition as the most congenial time for the demons. In point of fact, imagination has fabricated a special figure to represent midday—the white-robed 'noon-wife,' who walks abroad among the cornfields, usually during the midday interval in which the people snatch a little repose. The *Pshesponitsa* of the Wends and the *Poludnitsa* of the Poles take care that no one shall be in the fields at that hour. They try to puzzle any one they meet with difficult questions and riddles; and, if he cannot answer them satisfactorily, they kill him, or infect him with disease. The 'noon-wife' keeps watch over the fields, protects the crops, especially the flax, against thieves, and threatens with her sickle children who pull up the corn. The sickle is also the symbol of another noon-tide fiend among the Wends, the *Serp* or *Serpyšyja*, who kills children with it when they steal the peas. At midday the Bohemian *Polednice* fly about in field and wood, and come into the neighborhood of human dwellings. Their flights are accompanied by wind and

storm. Their practice is to steal little children whose mothers have negligently left them by themselves. The Russians likewise have a *Poludnitsa*, or *Zitna matka*, the protectress of the cornfield, who, especially at the season when the corn begins to shoot, perambulates the balks. She also molests children whom she finds idly strolling among the fields, and in Northern Russia parents warn their children against going amongst the rye lest the *Poludnitsa* burn them. In Bohemia the *Polednice* is supposed to be the spirit of the midday bell, and to live in the belfry. Of a somewhat similar character is the Moravian *Klekamitsa*, who stalks around after the evening chimes, and entraps the children whom she finds still out of doors.

In many parts of the Slavic world we find, besides the 'noon-wife,' a male 'midday spirit,' who in Bohemia is called *Poledníček*, and among the Wends *Serp*, while there is also a special field-spirit, the Russian *Polevoj*. The *Poledníček* is a little boy in a white shirt, who at midday passes from the forest into the fields, and punishes those whom he finds doing damage there. He calls to people by their names, and those who follow his call he leads to the far-off hills. The *Polevoj* or *Polevik*, on the other hand, is a personification of the tilled land, and his body is therefore black, like earth, while his hair is the colour of grass. The people think that the spirit of harvest, who is also known as *Ded*, resides in the last gathered sheaf, which is accordingly dressed to look like a doll, and is borne in festive procession to the landlord.

We come, finally, to the Nature-demons whose sphere of action is the air. In Bohemia there is a special spirit of the wind, *Větrnice* or *Meluzina*, 'the wind-mother,' a white, barefooted being. When the wind roars, the people say that the *Větrnice* is sobbing, and to comfort her they throw bread and salt into the air for her food. Her voice is believed to bear prophetic import. In Russia likewise we find the 'wind-mother,' and also the 'wind-father,' while the Wends speak of a 'wind-king.' The wind is thought to proceed from the demon's breathing or his movements. Then there is a group of 'wind-brethren'—sometimes four, sometimes twelve—who dwell at the ends of the earth, and who are constantly blowing against one another. With these wind-brethren have been confounded the four angels or evangelists borrowed from the sphere of Christian ideas, and supposed to live in the four quarters of the globe. In Russia we still find sporadically the belief that the wind, and especially the whirlwind, emanates from evil spirits, and that the devil is the chief commander. In the tempest and whirlwind it is believed that Satan himself or the soul of a witch is speeding along, and, if a knife be thrown into the gust, it will inflict a wound upon the hurrying spirit. When the demon is pursued by the thunderstorm, he may transform himself into an animal or a human being. An idea current among the Wends is that the whirlwind is really an invisible spirit, who may be seen, however, by pulling off one's shirt and looking through the sleeves. In certain Russian incantations the whirlwind is spoken of as the captain of the winds, who are personified as evil spirits, and he is styled 'Whirlwind, the son of Whirlwind.' His aid is implored by such as seek by magical means to arouse a responsive affection in the breasts of those they love. In Russia even frost is represented by a spirit. He is depicted as a grey-haired, white-bearded old man, wearing a snow-covered fur and shoes of ice. At Christmas he receives offerings of pottage, and is invited to partake of the Christmas fare, in the hope that he will not expose the grain to damage by frost.

Our discussion would remain incomplete without some reference, finally, to the fact that in the popular mind, more particularly in Russia, certain days of the week are personified. We have already had under consideration an analogous phenomenon, viz. the development of the 'Rosalia,' the memorial festival for the dead, into the personified *Rusalka*. In popular poetry, moreover, we find that the naive imagination has invested with human attributes certain important dates in the year, such as Christmas (*Rizdvo* or *Koljada*, from Lat. *calendæ*) and Christmas Eve (*Karatshun*, *Kratshun*; cf. Lat. *colatio*); in Russia, indeed, the latter term has for some reason or other come to signify the evil spirit. The days of the week similarly personified are Friday (*Pjānitsa*, which is also known by the Greek name *Paraskeva*) and Sunday (*St. Nedelja*). With dishevelled hair, and bodies covered with sores, these two spirits are said to travel from village to village—a fancy which implies that women who perform such work as sewing or spinning on Friday or Sunday really wound the day with the articles they use. The spirits punish those who thus injure them, while, on the other hand, to those who observe these days, they show favour by helping them in their household duties, promoting the growth of their flax, enhancing the fertility of their land, and, as the protectresses of women, rendering assistance to married people. It was a custom among Bulgarian women not so very long ago to make offerings of bread and eggs to Friday. It only remains to be said that the ideas relating to those female personifications of days have been greatly influenced by the worship of the Virgin Mary and other patron saints, and therefore really belong to a sphere of thought which lies outside the belief in spirits and demons in the stricter sense.

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DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Teutonic).—The ancient Teutons, like almost all other primitive peoples, believed that the whole surrounding world of Nature was alive with demons and spirits. This belief has survived from one of the primitive stages of religious thought till the present time, or has in the course of ages given rise to new phantoms of the human mind. The operations and occurrences observed in the natural world were all attributed to these imaginary beings. The primitive mind did not represent such existences as having any definite shape; it was only in a later phase of reflexion that they were invested now with animal, now with human, forms. Even such forms, however, were not the purely natural ones; the spirits were figured sometimes as very small, sometimes as enormously large. The next step was to endow the imaginary beings with a new class of activities, borrowed from the human sphere, and in this way was at length evolved the myth. The spirits of wind, water, and air were supposed to hold sway in Nature, while the spirits of vegetation, disease, and fate interfered in human life. They were thought of at first as existing in multitudes, but in course of time single spirits were disengaged from the mass. With the rise of the belief in the soul, the demons were sometimes invested with a soul-like nature; the souls of the dead were believed to survive in them. This explains why it is difficult—often, indeed, impossible—to distinguish between spirits and beings of soul-like, or rather ghost-like, nature. Nowhere has the action of religious syncretism been more powerful than in the fusion of the belief in spirits and the belief in

souls. Thus, *e.g.*, the demons of the wind coalesced with the moving host of souls, and the worship once accorded to the latter was transferred to the former. Hence arises our uncertainty as to whether Wodan-Ödin was originally a wind-demon or a leader of the soul-host.

While demons or spirits had their origin in the surrounding world and the phenomena of Nature, the belief in the soul was suggested by occurrences in the sphere of human life. Animism, the belief in the soul as a separate entity, arose out of the world of dreams, while Manism, the belief in the continued existence of the soul and the worship of the dead based thereon, originated in the phenomena of death. Ideas regarding the dream-soul are found in endless variety among all the Teutonic tribes. Thus, the soul, equally with the body, was an independent entity, and might leave the body and wander about in the interval of sleep. It was supposed to have its seat in various parts of the body—the blood, the heart, the kidneys, the liver, or the head; but it might also reside in the breath or the shadow; a man without a shadow had sold his soul. The soul could readily assume various forms; it sometimes appeared as an animal (serpent, weasel, toad, etc.), sometimes as an *incubus* (goblin, mare, troll) or other noxious being. In this way arose the ideas of the werewolf, the *fylgja* (see below), or attendant spirit, and the witch. Among the Northern Teutons a person who allowed his soul to wander was called a *hamrammr*, 'one who can change his shape.' This vagrant soul sees what is hidden from the bodily eye; it can look into both the past and the future. It was this belief which in great measure gave rise to the Teutonic conception of prophecy. When the soul was out of the body, moreover, it was endowed with active powers of abnormal character; it could work injury or bring benefit to other men, and accordingly the powers of magic were transferred to it. Persons who could at will thus cause their souls to leave their bodies, whether in sleep or in a trance, were regarded as magicians.

The powers of the dream-soul, however, were as nothing compared with those ascribed to the soul of the dead. The Teutons thought of the latter as a grasping, maleficent being, which returns to its place, claims its former possessions, and takes vengeance upon any one who withholds them. It was the abject fear of the returning soul and its evil powers that prompted the numerous duties which, according to primitive Teutonic ideas, the survivors owed to the dead (see artt. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Tent.] and ARYAN RELIGION). These various duties arise out of the belief that, unless the dead are treated with due honour and respect, they will return and do harm to the living. This superstition was once universal, and is not yet finally eradicated from the mind of any of the Teutonic peoples. There is probably no district in the whole Teutonic area where the people are entirely free from the belief in ghosts and haunted places. Persons who in their lifetime were regarded as wizards, or who had died an unnatural death, would, it was believed, come back for the express purpose of injuring the living. When such injury showed itself, the bodies of the malevolent beings were exhumed and burned, or transfigured through breast and heart with a stake, so that they might be held fast in their graves. Throughout the Middle Ages impalement was still practised as an apotropaic penalty for such crimes as rape or the murder of a relative (cf. Brunner, *Ztschr. d. Savigny-stiftung für Rechtsgesch.* xxvi. [1905] 258 ff.).

The souls of the dead had their times of moving abroad, and courses by which they fared. It was a universal belief among the Teutons that wind and storm were the hurrying host of the dead.

What leaves the body at death is the breath, and the breath was therefore the soul or spirit. But wind—agitated air—is also breath. When the breath leaves the body, it unites with other souls, and joins the soul-host. It was a widely diffused idea that a wind arose when any one was hanged; the spirits were coming for their new associate. The departing soul goes to the 'wöden her, da die bösen geister ir wonung hân.' As early as the time of Tacitus (*Germ.* 43), the Harri, with their painted bodies and black shields, used to imitate by night the 'raging host.' Belief in this raging host—or, as it was variously called, the wild hunt, Holla's troop, Perchta's host, the Norse *gand Reid*, 'the spirits' ride,' *Aasgardsreia*, 'Asgard's chase,' or *Hulderfolk*—is not even yet extinct. In certain places, and above all at cross-roads (*q.v.*), the spirit-host rouses itself to special activity, and at certain seasons it manifests itself. The principal time for this manifestation was the long winter night in the season of Epiphany, as, among the Teutons, the festival of Christmas had taken the place of the ancient heathen festival of the dead. It was believed that at such times the souls of the dead took part in the celebration and feasting. Special dishes and special cakes were dedicated to the souls of those who had died in the foregoing year. At no other season of the year were superstition and popular divination so rife. All manner of figures and masquerades were resorted to in personating the spirits. This was the feast of Yule (Goth. *juuleis*, A.S. *giuli*, O.N. *jöl*). The more vehement the rush of the spirit-host in the wind, the more bountiful would be the ensuing year, and accordingly offerings were made *til ars*, 'for a good, fruitful year.' As regards locality, the spirit-host manifested itself most frequently over battlefields. The slain were believed to continue their strife in the air. This belief finds expression in the Hildensage, according to which she summons the fallen Vikings every morning to renewed warfare on the island of Høy in the Orkneys (Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, i. 434). Popular belief also gave the spirit-host a leader—Wode or Wodan, a word which is a collective form for the 'raging host' (cf. Eng. *wood*, Scot. *wud*, 'mad'). In process of time Wodan was deified, and in some Teutonic countries came to be regarded as the supreme god.

Among the Teutons the belief in the soul gave rise to a great variety of demonic and legendary beings. From the superstition that the soul could leave the body in sleep or in the trance arose in particular the conception of *incubi*—souls that went forth to afflict and torment others in their sleep. The natural phenomenon at the root of this idea is the nightmare, which the physiologist traces to a congestion of the blood during sleep. The imaginary being to which this distressing condition was attributed is known by a great many different names, the most widely diffused of which is of the form *mare* (O.H.G., A.S., and Scand. *mara*; Germ. *Mahr* or *Mahre*; English 'nightmare'). In Central Germany the term *Alp* has come into use; in Upper Germany we find *Trude*, *Schrat*, *Ratz*, *Rätzle*, *Doggele*; in Western Germany, *Letzel*, *Trempe*; and in Oldenburg, *Walriderske*—all applied to the nightmare, and frequently used also to designate the witch. The *incubi* 'ride upon human beings,' and may actually torture them to death. In the Middle Ages persons who were suspected of injuring their fellow-men in this way were frequently prosecuted at law. Not only human beings, however, but also animals, and even trees, might be the victims of the *mare*. She afflicted people by squatting on the breast; she sucked the milk of women and cows; she wreaked such malice upon horses that

in the morning they were found bathed in sweat and with their hair all awry. She found her way into the sleeper's room by the keyhole, or through a crack, and these were also her only possible means of exit. If the sleeper awoke and held her in his grasp, all that he found was a straw, but, if he spoke the name of the person who had been thus tormenting him, he discovered a naked woman.

Among those who could cause their souls to pass out of their bodies and injure others was the *Hexe* of the Western Teutons (A.S. *hægtisse*, O.H.G. *hagazussa*=*strio*, *furia*), the Scandinavian *trolld*, the English 'witch.' These terms, however, had a wider application, and denoted also those who dealt in any way with magic, especially of a maleficent kind. It was really in virtue of their magical powers that the *Hexen* could disengage their souls from their bodies, and they were therefore also called *zōdnriten* (M.H.G.), *túnriður*, 'hedge-riders,' or *kveldmyrkriður* (O.N.), 'night-riders.' In these excursions they could assume an endless variety of form: they might take shape as a whale, a bear, a raven, or a toad. Bad weather, thunder, and hail were generally attributed to them. According to the Old Icelandic sources, they used to bring themselves into the ecstatic condition by means of incantations, and then launch forth the storm. In later mediæval times they were frequently brought to trial for causing bad weather. But their power of working injury extended to many other things; they induced diseases, and especially lunacy, they killed people, they filled the land with vermin, and caused the cows to give red milk, or none at all. The belief in witchcraft found among all the Teutonic peoples was reinforced during the Middle Ages by the Oriental belief in the devil. The witch was now supposed to be in league with the Evil One; she was one who had sold her soul to him and received the gift of magic in exchange. Thus arose the belief in the witches' meetings on the so-called *Brockelsbergs*, where the hags abandoned themselves to love-making with the devil. From this again sprang the discreditable trials for witchcraft, which lasted till the 18th century. It was also commonly believed that witches continued their nefarious practices even after death, and, when indications of such activity appeared, their bodies were exhumed and either burned or impaled.

Closely related to the trolls and witches were the Norse *Völves* (O.N. *völur*). These likewise were sorceresses, but they used their magical powers as a means of intercourse with the dead, and in order to acquire knowledge regarding secret things and the future. To their peculiar trade belonged the magic wand, the magic chair, and other accessories; while they had a retinue of boys and girls to chant their magic songs and so induce the trance in which the souls of the *Völves* left their bodies. These human *Völves*—the 'wise women' of other Teutonic peoples—were held in great veneration; in the winter nights of the season, when the spirit-host swarms around, they travelled from steading to steading, and were everywhere received with ceremony. Women thus endowed with prophetic vision were supposed to exercise their powers even after death. The Eddas often tell of men and gods who visited the grave of a *Völva* for the purpose of obtaining knowledge of the future. Thus *Öðin*, for instance, rides to such a grave, awakes the *Völva* from the sleep of death, and receives from her the interpretation of Balder's dreams (*Baldrsdrömmar*).

A male counterpart to the witch is the *werewolf*, i.e. man-wolf. This was a superstition current among all the Teutonic peoples (O.H.G. *werwolf*, A.S. *werewolf*, O.N. *vargulfr* or *ulfhámur*), and is found far beyond the limits of Teutonic lands.

The werewolf was a human soul which roamed about in the shape of a wolf, and wreaked horrible cruelties upon other human beings. A person who chooses, or is forced, to wander about in wolf's form has the power of falling asleep at will. Then he passes into a wolf's skin, which he fastens with thick coils of gold, and in this disguise he kills every person and animal he meets. According to popular belief, in which the werewolf still plays a part, the creature was bullet-proof, but, when wounded by a shot or a severe blow, it reverted to human form. The enchantment could be dissolved also by pronouncing the name of the person who had assumed the disguise, or by throwing a piece of steel or iron over the creature. A supernatural being of similar maleficent powers—a second counterpart to the witch—was the *Bilwis*, whose season of special activity was Walpurgis Night. This was a creature of soul-like character, which flitted through the fields, and wrought havoc to the crops with the sickle upon its great toe. When the people found their corn laid, or the ears stripped, they blamed the *Bilwis*; such work was the 'Bilwis-reaping.' It had its abode in trees—the 'Bilwis-trees'—at which gifts of children's clothing were offered by way of disposing the *Bilwis* to protect the children against disease.

Besides the souls which wander forth in dreams and trances, however, the souls of the dead played a great part in Teutonic folklore, presenting an endless variety of form and action. Among the various Teutonic peoples these spirits bear different names, and the fear of the returning dead is often reflected in the very nomenclature. Thus the O.H.G. *gitróc*, A.S. *gidróg*, O.N. *draugr* are connected with the root **dreugh*, 'to hurt'; other terms for such haunting spirits are Germ. *Gespernt* (O.H.G. *spanan*, 'entice', 'deceive'), Dan. *gen-ganger* (Icel. *apturgangur*, 'one who walks again'), Eng. 'ghost' (A.S. *ghestan*, 'terrify'). This belief in the haunting presence of the dead survives to-day with a scarcely abated power of legend-making, and in modern spiritualism it would seem to have entered on a new lease of life. The ideas popularly held regarding the returning spirits are certainly somewhat vague. The ghost is sometimes thought of as invisible, and able to make its presence known only by voice or action; sometimes it is supposed to appear as a human being or an animal (e.g. the fiery dog, cat, horse, serpent, toad, and the like). In some districts it was considered wrong to kill certain animals, such as toads and snakes, since they were the living homes of hapless souls. But, on the other hand, animals thus possessed by souls might work injury to human beings, and this belief gave occasion to the common mediæval practice of subjecting animals to trial and punishment (cf. von Amira, *Tierstrafen u. Tierprozesse*, Innsbruck, 1891). The belief that the departed soul might survive in the body of an animal gave rise to the supposition that certain animals had the gift of prophecy, and, as it was assumed that they had also the faculty of speech, it was possible to converse with them—above all with birds—as with human beings. Souls might also survive in plants: thus the oak which sprang from the mouth of a king slain in battle, and the rose and lily which grew on the grave of lovers, were really the abodes of the departed souls. The belief that the dead pass into trees was very common; the guardian tree and the tree of life associated with individuals or families were the abodes of tutelary or ancestral spirits, and were thus often made the recipients of gifts and offerings, while the act of damaging trees was a crime demanding the severest penalties.

The belief in the soul gave birth to a large number of fabulous beings. One of these was the Norse

fylgja ('following spirit'), which attended a person either as his soul or as his guardian spirit. As a soul, it took the form of an animal; while, as a tutelary spirit, it was a female being who appeared, especially in dreams, to its protégé, and warned him of danger or urged him to action. The *fylgjas* sometimes come singly, sometimes in troops. After a person's death his attendant spirit passes to his heirs, and in this way occasionally becomes a family-*fylgja*. The Norse *valkyrs* differ so far from the *fylgjas* in that they are almost always found in groups, and especially in groups of nine. The battle-maidens of the ancient folklore, frequently mentioned both in the southern and in the northern sources (cf. Dio Cass. lxxi. 3; Flav. Vopiscus, *Vita Aurelii*, 37; Paulus Diaconus, i. 15; Saxo Gram. i. 333 ff., 361, etc.) become *valkyrs* (A.S. *velcyrza*, O.N. *valkyrja*) after their death. They are armed with helmet, shield, and lance; they ride through air and sea; the manes of their horses shed dew and hail upon the earth. Their appearance presages war and bloodshed. In Norse poetry they are closely associated with Óðin; they are his maids, his 'wish-maidens' who carry out his commands, who strike down in battle the heroes destined for Valhöll, and bear them thither, where at the banquets they foretaste the mead for the *einherjar*. The group of wish-maidens also included *Brynhildr-Sigrdrifa*, who disobeyed the commands of her lord by giving the victory to another king, and was in consequence pierced with the 'thorn of sleep' and surrounded by a flame until such time as Sigurðr should awake her and set her free. It is a moot point whether the *Norns*, the 'Fates' of Norse mythology, who have many features in common with the *valkyrs*, should be regarded as souls or as demons. A similar ambiguity attaches to the *elves*, who are sometimes represented as souls, sometimes as purely demonic beings. Both the name and the idea of these products of religious phantasy are common to all the Teutonic race; O.H.G. *der alp* (pl. *elbe*), or *das alp*, also *diu elbe*, A.S. *ælf* (pl. *ylfe*), O.N. *álfr* (pl. *álfar*) are applied to both male and female beings living in the earth, the air, the sea, the hills, etc. They are often associated with the *Asir* (*æsir ok álfar* is a favourite Norse expression, and Anglo-Saxon has a cognate phrase), and, like the latter, embrace the entire multitude of soul-like powers at work in Nature. In later, and especially English, forms of superstition, the *elves* possess a Proteus-like character, and show a preference for animal shapes. They are sometimes regarded as helpful to man, but sometimes also as capable of injuring him, and accordingly both good and bad *elves* are recognized among the Northern Teutons. Snorri Sturluson (*Edda*, i. 18) classifies them according to their domiciles as 'elves of light,' who are whiter than the sunbeam and live in the air, and 'elves of darkness,' who dwell in the earth, and are blacker than pitch. From the *elves of light* the sun takes his name of *álfröðull*, 'elf-ray.' Their head is the sun-god Freyr, whose abode is Álfheim, 'the realm of the elves.' The 'elves of darkness' are sometimes all but identified with the dwarfs, and this explains why the deft-handed smith Völundr (Wieland) is called 'lord of the elves.' In M.H.G. poetry the king of the *elves* is Alberich, who found his way to the West Franks as Oberon. In England, owing to the influences of the Irish belief in fairies, superstition dwelt mainly on the bright and beautiful *elves*, who thus became objects of popular favour. A similar development took place in Scandinavia, where, especially in Sweden, the *elves* were thought of as comely maidens, who live in hills and mountains, hold their dances on the green sward, and by their ravishing songs draw the traveller to

destruction. Further, the *elves* are sometimes *incubi*; and thus the Germ. word *Alp* has been used only in this sense from the 16th century. The *Elfen* of German poetry are really of English origin, having been introduced into Germany towards the end of the 18th century by the translation of Shakespeare.

The *elves* of ancient times are often identical with the *wights* (Goth. *vaihts*, fem., O.N. *væitr*, fem., O.H.G. *wiht*, neut.). The conception of the *wight* likewise developed on various lines according to locality. In Old Norse superstition *wights* were tutelary spirits who had their abode in groves, hills, and waterfalls, and were able to dispense fortune or misfortune to human beings. In German folklore they were vivacious spirit-like creatures who assisted men in their work, and demanded gifts in return. To the same class of soul-like, or demonic, beings must be assigned the *dwarfs* (O.H.G. *twerg*, A.S. *dveorh*, O.N. *dvergr*). Their abode, however, was confined to a particular place, and their field of activity was similarly circumscribed. Popular imagination depicted them as diminutive old men—sometimes deformed—with large heads and long white beards. They lived in mountains or under the earth, and were thus known as the 'Unterirdische,' 'hill-folk,' 'earth-dwellers.' They shunned the light of day, for the sun's rays would transform them to stone. Among their possessions is the tarn-cap or magic hood which enables them to become invisible at will, and endows them with supernatural powers. Their principal occupation is smith's work; their forge is situated within the hills, and accordingly dwarf-legend flourishes most profusely where there are ore-bearing mountains, and where mining is carried on. In the Norse poetical literature all weapons of a superior kind, especially swords, are the handiwork of dwarfs. But Thor's hammer, Frey's ship *Skíðblaðnir*, Óðin's ring *Draupnir*, Sif's golden hair, Freyja's necklace *Brísingamen*, and other articles of ornament are also products of their skill. Such arts, however, are not their only characteristic; they are distinguished also for craft and cunning. They are often thought of as united in a realm of their own, with a dwarf-king (Laurin, Heiling, Alberich) at their head. As lords of the mountains they are possessed of immense treasures, from which they draw to reward such persons as pledge themselves to their service. See, further, art. FAIRIES.

An elfish origin is to be assigned to the *household spirits*, who protect the home, and bring it good fortune and wealth. They were frequently regarded as having an animal form, especially that of a serpent or a toad, and they lived under the threshold, in the roof-beams, or on the hearth, at which places it was usual to present offerings of milk or other food in a dish. The household spirit is also met with as a mannikin with the figure of a dwarf, and in this form is known under many different names: thus the A.S. *cofgodas*, 'house-gods,' survive as *Kobolds*, or goblins; the Germans have also the *Butze*, the *Hütchen*, while in England we have Puck (Scot. 'brownie'), and in Scandinavia the *Gardsvor* ('house-guardian'), *Tomte* ('house-spirit'), and *Nisse*. In many places it is still believed that these household spirits are the souls of deceased ancestors or other relatives.

Superstition assigned a guardian spirit not only to the house, but to the *ship*, in which he was known as the *Klabautermann* (Germ.). He dwelt in the mast, and the sailors believed that he was a child's spirit which had come into the vessel in the felled tree of which the mast was made. The *Klabautermann* warned the sailors by certain noises of any imminent danger, assisted them in their work, and, like the domestic spirit, received

payment for his services in the form of gifts. If the ship went down, he flew away, but first bade farewell to the steersman. Miners likewise had their guardian spirit, the *Schachtmandl* ('shaft-mannie'), who assisted them in the workings, and showed them where the good ore was to be found.

Another form of superstition current among all the Teutonic peoples was the belief in the demonic beings which live in rivers, brooks, and wells, in forests, in the waving cornfields, in the moving air, and within and upon the mountains, and which in many cases are hardly distinguishable from the ghostly creatures already dealt with. Imagination represented them as of human or superhuman dimensions, and as of human or animal form, according to the magnitude of the natural facts associated with them. At an early period, however, popular imagination had detached these spirits from their original habitat, and, as in the case of the dwarfs, had invested them with all manner of fabulous features and incidents, so that the natural facts which suggested them cannot always be identified in detail, and only the general form remains. This is specially true of the *giants*, who, like the dwarfs, were favourite subjects of popular poetry. But, while the dwarfs were personifications of the bountiful powers of Nature, and are therefore thought of as well-disposed towards mankind, the giants represent Nature in her hostile aspects, and thus came to be regarded as the destroyers and devourers of men. That nearly all the more impressive phenomena of Nature were personified as colossal beings of this kind, is shown by the Norse genealogy of the giants (*Fornaldarsögur* ii. 3 ff.). To the family of *Fornjót* ('the old giant') belong the following, as his children or children's children: *Hler*, the hoisterous sea; *Logi*, the wild-fire; *Kari*, the tempest; *Jökull*, the glacier; *Frosti*, cold; *Snær*, snow; *Drífa*, the snow-drift, and other effects of a severe winter. Similar gigantic beings were with special frequency suggested by mountains. Almost every mountain peak and range was a petrified giant or a seat of giants: e.g. *Pilatus* in Switzerland; *Watzmann* in the Bavarian highlands; *Hütt*, the queen of the giants, in the Tyrol, etc. The Norwegian *Jötenfjeld*, 'giant-range,' was the home of the giants. Hence the giant was called *bergbúi* ('mountain-dweller'), or *bergjafi* ('lord of the mountain'), and, in fact, the Germ. *Riese* had originally the same meaning (O.H.G. *riso*, A.S. *urrisil*, O.N. *risi*, all cognate with Gr. *βlov*, 'peak'). The strength of these mountain-giants is expressed in the O.H.G. *duris*, A.S. *ðyrs*, O.N. *purs* (Skr. *turas*, 'strong,' 'powerful'); their size in the O.H.G. *Hüne* (Celt. *kunos*, 'high'); their rapacity in the O.H.G. *etan*, A.S. *eotan*, O.N. *jötunn*, 'the devourer.' See, further, art. GIANTS.

Certain other classes of demons, however, differ from those just referred to in that they are never dissociated from their original haunts. Among these are the *forest-spirits*, who are connected with the yearly renewal and decay of Nature, and thus, like the field-spirits (see below), become spirits of vegetation. These demons remain quiescent in the woods during winter, but awake to activity with the re-birth of Nature. In the spring the people used to carry home young trees and green shoots, in which the demons were supposed to live, and plant them near their houses, as it was believed that persons who came into contact with the branches absorbed the fresh energies of the re-awakened spirits. But the forest was likewise the abode of supernatural beings of a more independent type, and principally female in form—the 'feminae agrestes, quas silvaticas vocant' (Burchard of Worms, *Decreta*, Cologne, 1548, p. 198^b), who appear suddenly, yield themselves to their lovers, and then as suddenly vanish. These

are the 'wild maidens,' the German *Moos-*, *Holz-*, and *Buschweiber*, the *Fangen* and *Saligen*, the Swedish *skogsfruar* (wood-nymphs), and the Danish *askefruer* (ash-nymphs) of present-day superstition. Their bodies are usually covered with hair, their faces wrinkled; they have hanging breasts and dishevelled hair, and are often clad with moss. It is a common notion that they are chased by the storm-giant, the Wild Hunter, Wode, or the giant Fasolt, and that they seek refuge among men, liberally rewarding those who succour them. These wood-nymphs are also endowed with occult powers, especially the power of curing disease—a belief originally suggested by the medicinal properties of plants found in the woods. The forest-spirits, however, are sometimes males, mostly of gigantic size, and always of the same hideous appearance as the females.

There are many points of resemblance between the forest-spirits and the *field-spirits*. The latter likewise were originally spirits of vegetation, which popular imagination first of all detached from their native sphere, and then elaborated in detail. Field-spirits grow with the stalks of grain, and become visible when the wind blows across the cornfields. The long ridges or 'backs' of the tilled land suggested the animal shape ascribed to these spirits. They are known by many different names, as e.g. in Germany, *Kornwolf*, *Roggenhund* ('rye-dog'), *Haferbock* ('oat-goat'), *Rockensau* ('rye-sow'), *Bullkater* ('tom-cat'), in Sweden, *Gloso* ('glow-sow'), in Norway, *Herregudsbuk* ('the Lord's goat'), etc. Sometimes, again, the field-spirits were of a human type; hence the *Kornmutter* ('corn-mother'), the *Rockenmuhme* ('rye-aunt'), the *Roggenalte* (especially in Denmark), and, in male form, the *Alte* ('old one'), or the *Gerstenalte* ('barley-gaffer'). The 'grass-demon' lived in meadows, the 'clover-mannikin' in clover-fields. When the corn was cut, the spirit flitted from one swathe to another. The person who cut or bound the last sheaf caught the 'old one,' the 'corn-mother,' etc. That sheaf was formed into some kind of figure, and presented with due ceremony to the landlord; then a dance was held around it. The ears of the last sheaf were carefully stored in the barn until the next seed-time, and then used for the purpose of stimulating the spirit of vegetation to renewed activity. But that could be secured only by killing the old spirit, and this was done by binding up a cock with the last sheaf, and then letting it loose and chasing it through the fields, till at last it was overtaken and killed. As the spirit of vegetation was believed to be in the people who happened to pass by while this ceremony was being performed, they were seized and bound by the reapers, and had to buy themselves off with a gift.

A still greater fertility of invention is exhibited by the Teutonic belief in *water-spirits*. Almost every body of water—spring and river, pond and lake, marsh and cascade—was imagined to be the abode of a spirit. These spirits varied in size as dwarfs, men, or giants, according to the extent of the masses of water with which they were associated, while fancy lent them sometimes human, and sometimes animal, shapes. Here and there they were supposed to be the souls of the dead. Departed souls were associated very specially with fountains and wells, which accordingly were regarded as resorts of the leaders of the soul-hosts, such as Frau Holle and the Wild Hunter; hence, too, the widely prevalent belief that the souls of the newly-born came from such places. On similar grounds arose in primitive times the custom of treating fountains and wells as places of divination. The spirits who haunted such places were marked out from others by their prophetic gift and their

supernatural wisdom. One of the water-spirits thus endowed was the Norse *Mimir*, into whose waters Óðin had put his eye in pledge in order to gain wisdom, and to whose knowledge he resorted when he desired light upon the future. The demons who resided in rivers, streams, and seas were in the main hostile to mankind; they tried to seize men and drag them down into the watery kingdom, and were therefore propitiated with offerings, frequently, indeed, with human sacrifices. Such hostile spirits are known to the various Teutonic peoples by variants of the name *nix* (Germ. *Nix* [masc.] or *Nixe* [fem.], Eng. *nick*, also *nixie*, Norw. *nökk*, Swed. *näkk*). The *nix* was fish-like in the lower half; the upper part, or sometimes the head only, was of human shape. He wore a green garb, and his teeth were also green. He lived with his family at the bottom of rivers and lakes. The female *nixies* were noted for the beautiful singing by which they allured human beings into their toils. They sometimes intermarried with mankind. The male *nix* was occasionally armed with a hook, with which he dragged people under the water; he was accordingly also called *Hakenmann* ('hook-man'). In Denmark the water-spirit is known as *Havmand* ('sea-man,' cf. 'merman,' 'mermaid'); in Sweden as *Strömkarl* ('river-man'), in Norway, the land of waterfalls, we find the *Grim* or *Fossegrim*, as the spirit of waterfalls; in Iceland, the *Skrimsel* ('monster'), *Vatnskratti* ('water-wraith'), and *Margýgr* ('sea-monster').

The Old Norse mythology gave great prominence to the water-demons *Ægir* and his wife *Rán*. *Ægir*, whose name is connected with Goth. *ahva*, 'water' and Gr. *ἕκωας*, was the spirit of the calm still sea—one with whom the gods were on hospitable terms. His consort *Rán*—or *Sjörán*, as she is still designated in Swedish folklore—was of an entirely different nature. She was the man-stealing demon of the sea, a hag who had no heart in her body, and who lay in wait for sailors with her net, or tried to grasp the ship with her arms, and drag it down to the depths. Of similar character were her nine daughters—personifications of the surging billows—who during the storm offered their embraces to the seamen, and, like their mother, pursued the ship. The *Mjǫrgarð-serpent*—the snake-shaped monster which coils itself round the earth—and the Fenris-wolf, which contends with Óðin at the annihilation of the world, as also *Grendel* and his mother, who lived in swamps by the sea, and at night stole men from the palace of the Danish king, *Hiölgar*, are also frequently included among the sea-demons.

Throughout the entire Teutonic race, as we have seen, there prevailed the belief that all the natural elements were ruled by spirits, and that the good and evil fortunes of human life proceeded from soul-like, or spirit-like, beings, friendly or hostile to man. Demons and spirits caused rain, tempest, and thunderstorm. Demons pursued the sun and the moon, and brought about solar and lunar eclipses. They promoted or hindered the growth of vegetation. Disease and pestilence were their evil work. They hovered around human beings on all the important occasions of life: at birth, when they sought to gain possession of the child; at marriage, when they were specially active in mischief-making; and at death, when they endeavoured to draw the living after the dead. Savage man sought to guard himself against their machinations by all manner of ritual devices, which have left their traces in the manners and customs of the present day. He shot at them, he lit fires, he hung up glittering objects, he uncovered certain parts of the body, he avoided stepping on the threshold under which they lived, and performed endless other actions for the purpose of protecting himself or driving them away. The ideas underlying such practices, thus brought down by the Teutons from the earliest ages, are found to correspond with ideas which prevail among the primitive races of the present day.

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E. MOGK.

DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Tibetan).—The Tibetan lives in an atmosphere charged with malignant demons and spirits; and the great practical attraction of Buddhism for him is that it can protect him, so he is led to believe, against most of these supernatural enemies. Yet it should be remembered that in the higher Hindu civilization of India the ostensible object of the Brahmanical sacrifice was also to chain the demons.

The great majority of the Tibetan demons are of a non-Buddhist character. A considerable proportion of the aboriginal evil spirits have been adjusted by the Lamas to the type of somewhat analogous bloodthirsty demons in the later Tantrik Buddhism of India, and these are to be coerced or propitiated on the lines of the Indian ritual. But the larger number demand the rites of the pre-Buddhist religion to which they belong, namely, the Bon (see TIBET). These spirits are mainly personified natural forces and malignant ghosts, but several are animistic and fetishes, and all are saturated with sacrificial ideas.

The word for 'spirit,' namely *lha*, is that which is adopted for the gods of the Brahmanical and Indian Buddhist pantheon. It is applied generally to those aboriginal gods who are supposed to live in the sky, even though they be unfriendly to man. The demons, or *rdud* (pronounced *düt*), are always evil genii or fiends of an actively malignant type; *Māra* is considered one of them. These indigenous spirits may be broadly divided into the following eight classes:—

(1) Good spirits (*Lha*), mostly male, white in colour, and generally genial, though the war-god (*ſſſra-lha*) is as fierce and powerful as the greatest fiend. The countryside gods (*Yul-lha*) and the fairy guardians (*Srung-ma*) have been made defenders of Lamaism. (2) Ghosts and goblins (*Tsan*), all male, red in colour. These are usually the vindictive ghosts of discontented disembodied priests. They especially haunt the vicinity of temples. (3) Devils (*bDud*), mostly male, black in colour, and very malignant. The most malignant of all are 'Dre (or *Lha-dre*), male and female, or literally 'father' and 'mother.' They are persecutors of Lamaism, and cannot be properly appeased without the sacrifice of a pig. (4) Planet fiends (*gDon*), piebald in colour; producing diseases. Fifteen great ones are recognized. (5) Bloated fiends (*dMu*), dark purple in colour. (6) Ghouls and vampires (*Srin-po*), raw-flesh-coloured and bloodthirsty. (7) King-fiends (*rGyal-po*), the 'treasure-masters' (*dKor-bdag*), usually white in colour, the spirits of apotheosized heroes. (8) 'Mother' furies (*Ma-mo*), black-coloured she-devils. They are the disease-mistresses (*nad-bdag*), and are sometimes the spouses of certain of the above demons. The twelve *bStan-ma* (pronounced *Tänma*) especially inhabit the snowy ranges.

Many of the above are local genii, fixed to particular localities. Of these the most numerous are the 'earth-owners' (*Sa-bdag*), truly local spirits inhabiting the soil, springs, and lakes, like the *nāgas* of the Hindus. Others more malignant, called *gNan*, and believed to cause pestilential disease, infest certain trees, rocks, and springs, which are avoided in consequence or made into shrines for propitiatory offerings. They are believed by the present writer to represent the spirit of the gigantic wild sheep, the *gNan* or *Ovis am-mou*, which, according to early Chinese accounts, was worshipped by the Tibetans, and the horns of which are offered on the cairns at the tops of the passes. At every temple or monastery the local spirit is represented as an idol or fresco within the outer gateway, usually to the right of the door, and worshipped with wine and occasionally with bloody sacrifice; and it is given a more or less honorific name. One of the fiercest of the country fiends is *Pe-kar* (not *Pe-har*, as spelt by some writers), who has been adopted as a special protector of monasteries by the Yellow-hat sect of Lamas. There are also the 'house-god,' the ancestral gods, and the personal spirits or familiars, good and bad, of the individual.

The representations of these spirits at their shrines, or on altars, or in their masks at the sacred plays portray them in human form, though some of them may have the head of a beast or bird, and they are pictured by the Tibetan artists as clad in the costume of the country. The local spirits sometimes may be represented by mere sticks and stones.

Living sacrifice is not offered to these spirits nowadays, but the dough effigies of animals which are offered indicate, in the opinion of the present writer, the prevalence of animal sacrifice in pre-Buddhist days. The animals most commonly represented in this way are the dog, sheep, and yak. Actual blood and the brains and flesh of animals slain by butchers in the ordinary way are frequently offered in bowls made out of human skulls, as in Indian Śaivite rites.

Of the special implements used in Tibetan demon-worship an important one is the three-cornered dagger called *pür-pa* or *pür-bu*. This is used by the priests to stab and drive off the demons, or to impale them when it is stuck into the ground. What appears probably to be a Buddhistic variation of this worship is the feast offered in charity to the devils from time to time. The spirits are summoned by the blowing of human thigh-bone trumpets and the beating of skull drums and gongs, and are afterwards dismissed in an imperative way.

The evil spirits of Indian Buddhism bear the following names in Tibetan, the latter being usually the literal etymological translation of the Sanskrit names:

SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.	SANSKRIT.	TIBETAN.
Preta	Yi-dvag.	Urmāda	sMyo-byed.
Kumbhāṇḍa	sGrul-'bum.	Skanda	sKye-m-byed.
Pisācha	Sa-za.	Chhāyā	Grib-gnon.
Bhūta	'Byung-po.	Rākṣa	Srin-po.
Pūtana and	Srul-po (=	Revati-graha	Nam-grui
Katapūtana	'rotten') and	and Sakuni-	gdon and
	Lus Srul-po.	graha	Byai gdon.

These, as well as the other deities of Indian Buddhism, are usually represented by Tibetan artists in conventional Indian dress, in contradistinction to the indigenous deities.

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DÉNÉS.—A most important aboriginal group of tribes north of Mexico. Owing to the great temperamental disparity of its component parts, it affords an excellent field for the study of psychic peculiarities and the gradual development in opposite directions of the mental faculties. Within the bosom of that great American family are to be found extremes in more ways than one. We have the fierce Apaches in the south, and the timid Hares in the north, while the industrious Navahos of Arizona are in as strong contrast to the indolent, unæsthetic Dog-Ribs and Slaves of the Canadian sub-arctic forests. All its tribes, however, are more or less remarkable for their pronounced sense of dependence on the powers of the invisible world. Religious feeling and its outward manifestations pervade their whole lives, though by some careless travellers they have been regarded as destitute of any religion.

The Dénés, also improperly called *Athapascans*, from Lake Athabasca, the habitat of one of their tribes, are divided into Northern, Southern, and Pacific Dénés. The Northern Dénés, whose ranks are now reduced to about 19,390 souls, people the wilds of Canada from the Churchill River, and almost from the Northern Saskatchewan, up to the territory of the Eskimos. In British Columbia, the immense coniferous forests and snow-capped mountains, extending from 51° 30' N. lat. to the northern confines of the Province, and beyond as far as the wastes claimed by the above-mentioned hyperborean aborigines, are also their patrimonial domain. Their best known tribes within that area are the Loucheux (5500 souls) in Alaska, the Yukon Territory, and the lower Mackenzie; the Hares (600), their neighbours in the east; the Slaves (1100), west of Great Slave Lake, from Fort Simpson to Fort Norman; the Dog-Ribs (same population), east of the latter, as far as Back River; the Yellow-Knives (500), a somewhat licentious tribe, to the north-east of Great Slave Lake; the Chipewas (4000) and Caribou-Eaters (1700), the first representatives of the stock in the north who ever came into contact with the whites; the Nahanaïs (1000), on the Stikine and, in the same latitude, east of the Rocky Mountains; and the Carriers (970), who, with the Babines (530) and the Chilcotins (450), constitute the South-western Dénés. The well-known Apaches (6068) and the numerous Navahos (27,365) form the Southern branch of the family (cf. APACHES and NAVAHOES). As to the Pacific Dénés, they consist of unimportant tribes, or remnants of tribes, scattered throughout N. California, Oregon, and Washington. Their present aggregate does not come to more than 900 souls.

When in their original state, the Dénés are eminently a nomadic race of hunters and fishermen. Nowhere, except in British Columbia, have they anything like villages or any elaborate social system. Father-right was primitively, and has remained to a great extent, the fundamental law of their society. The father of a family is con-